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## **Transnational Living in Everyday Practices**

*A Study of Social and Discursive Aspects of Transnational Networking and its Role in Identity Construction*

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**Transnational Living in  
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Study of Social and  
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and its Role in Identity  
Construction**

**Julia Zhukova Klausen**

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in Identity Construction

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PhD Dissertation  
by Julia Zhukova  
February 2011

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*Julia Zhukova*

*January, 2011*

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>I. CHALLENGING TRANSNATIONAL COMPLEXITY.....</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>II. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES: TOWARDS THE CONCEPT OF TRANSNATIONAL NETWORKING .....</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>III. DISSERTATION STRUCTURE.....</b>	<b>11</b>
 <b>CHAPTER 2: THEORIZING TRANSNATIONALITY: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL</b>	
<b>POSITIONING OF THE RESEARCH.....</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>IV. CONCEPTUAL AMBIGUITIES OF TRANSNATIONALITY .....</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>I.1. Transnationalism in Globalizational Theories.....</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>I.2. Transnationalism and Diaspora Research.....</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>I.3. Transnational Migration Theories.....</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>I.4. Theorizing Transnationality: Pitfalls and Challenges.....</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>V. STUDIES OF TRANSNATIONALITY: BEYOND DIASPORA.....</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>II.1. The ‘Network Lens’ in Transnational Research.....</b>	<b>25</b>
<b>II.2. The ‘Placial Turn’ in Transnational Studies.....</b>	<b>27</b>
<b>II.3. Theorizing Transnationality: Formulating the Research Objectives .....</b>	<b>29</b>
<b>III. TOWARDS THE CONCEPT OF TRANSNATIONAL IDENTITY.....</b>	<b>34</b>
<b>III.1. The Issue of Transnational Citizenship.....</b>	<b>36</b>
<b>III.2. The Studies of Diaspora Identities.....</b>	<b>38</b>
<b>III.3. ‘Transnational Shuttling’ Theories.....</b>	<b>39</b>
<b>III.4. Theorizing Transnationality: Identity Quests in the Network Society .....</b>	<b>41</b>
<b>IV. CHAPTER SUMMARY .....</b>	<b>43</b>
 <b>CHAPTER 3: THERE IS A METHOD TO EVERY MESS: DEVELOPING MULTIMODAL, SOCIAL-</b>	
<b>SEMIOTIC, DISCOURSE ANALYTICAL APPROACH TO DOING ETHNOGRAPHY OF</b>	
<b>PRACTICE.....</b>	<b>47</b>
<b>I. METAPHYSICAL AND METAHEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS .....</b>	<b>50</b>
<b>II. FROM THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF SITE TO THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF PRACTICE.....</b>	<b>53</b>
<b>III. WHAT’S DISCOURSE GOT TO DO WITH IT .....</b>	<b>57</b>

<b>IV. TRACKING MEANING-MAKING: MULTIOMODAL, SOCIAL-SEMIOTIC, DISCOURSE APPORACH TO ANALYZING SOCIAL INTERACTION.....</b>	<b>60</b>
<b>V. ORGANIZING THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF PRACTICE .....</b>	<b>70</b>
<b>V.1. Establishing Research Criteria .....</b>	<b>71</b>
<b>V.2. Enagaging the Nexus of Practice.....</b>	<b>74</b>
<b>V.3. From Data Collection to Data Archive .....</b>	<b>83</b>
<b>VI. CHAPTER SUMMARY .....</b>	<b>85</b>
 <b>CHAPTER 4: ENGAGING THE NEXUS OF PRACTICE: ASSEMBILING DATA ARCHIVE.....</b>	 <b>91</b>
<b>I. ESTABLISHING THE ISSUES OF STUDY .....</b>	<b>92</b>
<b>II. ESTABLISHING THE ZONE OF IDENTIFICATION .....</b>	<b>102</b>
<b>III. NAVIGATING THE NEXUS OF PRACTICE – CIRCUMFERENCING THE ANALYSIS .....</b>	<b>120</b>
<b>III.1. Rusforum .....</b>	<b>121</b>
<b>III.2.Rusmam/the Russian School .....</b>	<b>140</b>
<b>III.3.The "Russian" Shop in Aalborg.....</b>	<b>152</b>
<b>IV. DATA ARCHIVE .....</b>	<b>154</b>
<b>V. CHAPTER SUMMARY.....</b>	<b>158</b>
 <b>CHAPTER 5: MAKING DATA TALK: PROBLEMS OF AND SOLUTIONS TO REPRESENTING MULTIMODAL TRANSLATED DATA .....</b>	 <b>161</b>
<b>I. FROM MULTIMODAL INTERACTION TO MULTIOMODAL DATA: MATTERS OF DATA RECORDING,     PRESERVING, STORING AND VISUALIZING .....</b>	<b>163</b>
<b>II. REPRESENTING ORAL DSICOURSE: AN APPROACH TO TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION .....</b>	<b>168</b>
<b>III. MANAGING COMPUTER-MEDIATED DATA .....</b>	<b>175</b>
<b>IV. VISUAL DATA: ITS TYPES, FUNCTIONS AND MODES OF PRESNTATION IN THE ANALYSIS .....</b>	<b>181</b>
<b>V. CHAPTER SUMMARY .....</b>	<b>182</b>
 <b>CHAPTER 6: ETHICAL CONCERNS: THEORETICAL AND PRAGMATIC FACETS OF RESEARCHER'S RESPONSIBILITY .....</b>	 <b>184</b>
<b>I. THE IRRESPONSIBILITY OF DOING OBJECTIVE RESEARCH AND THE SUBJECTIVITY OF BEING ETHICALLY     RESPONSIBLE .....</b>	<b>186</b>
<b>II. DOING BEING ETHICALLY MINDFUL .....</b>	<b>189</b>
<b>III. "DOING RIGHT" IN CYBERSPACE .....</b>	<b>193</b>
<b>IV. CHAPTER SUMMARY: FROM ETHICAL CONCERNS TO ENGAGED AND ACTION-BASED SCHOLARSHIP ....</b>	<b>201</b>

<b>CHAPTER 7: THE MAKING OF TRANSNATIONAL PRACTICES: MULTIMODAL SOCIAL-SEMIOTIC ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL INTERACTION AND DISCURIVE PRACTICES IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF TRANSNATIONAL NETWORKING.....</b>	<b>203</b>
<b>I. CATEGORIZING THE REALITIES: PRANDIAL DISCOURSE AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF FAMILIAR .....</b>	<b>206</b>
<b>II. INTER- AND TRANSDISCURSIVITY IN ORGANIZING THE REALITIES .....</b>	<b>228</b>
<b>II.1.Memory Work.....</b>	<b>229</b>
<b>II.2. Making Transnational Mobility Tangible.....</b>	<b>239</b>
<b>III. TRANSNATIONAL NETWORKING AND IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION.....</b>	<b>268</b>
<b>IV. CHAPTER SUMMARY .....</b>	<b>285</b>
 <b>CHAPTER 8: FROM STUDYING TRANSNATIONAL NETWORKING TO UNDESRSTANDING TRANSNATIONAL GOVERNMENTALITY: THE DISCUSSION .....</b>	 <b>288</b>
<b>I. FROM STUDYING TRANSNATIONAL NETWORKING TO UNDERSTANDING TRANSNATIONAL GOVERNMENTALITY.....</b>	<b>291</b>
<b>II. FORMULATING TRANSNATIONAL DIALECTICS.....</b>	<b>298</b>
<b>III. TRASNATIONAL NETWORKING AND TRASNATIONAL SEMIOTIC LANDSCAPE.....</b>	<b>307</b>
<b>IV. THE ROLE OF HYPERMEDIA IN THE CONSTRCUION OF TRANSNATIONAL NETWORKING .....</b>	<b>309</b>
<b>V. ETHICAL AND PRAGMATIC ASPECTS OF THE EPISTEMOLOGICAL CONTRIBUTIONS.....</b>	<b>315</b>
<b>VI. CHAPTER SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS .....</b>	<b>318</b>
 <b>CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSIONS.....</b>	 <b>320</b>
 <b>BIBLIOGRAPHY .....</b>	 <b>328</b>
<b>SUMMARY (ENGLISH) .....</b>	<b>337</b>
<b>SUMMARY (DANISH) .....</b>	<b>343</b>
<b>APPENDICES.....</b>	<b>349</b>
<b>APPENDIX I: Transcription Convention Used for Representing Co-present Interaction.</b>	<b>350</b>
<b>APPENDIX II: 'Informed Consent' Form (Original and Translation).....</b>	<b>351</b>
<b>APPENDIX II: Data Chart.....</b>	<b>353</b>
<b>LIST OF FIGURES.....</b>	<b>431</b>
<b>LIST OF IMAGES.....</b>	<b>432</b>
<b>LIST OF TABLES.....</b>	<b>434</b>

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

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Recent decades have been marked by a series of radical transformations that are establishing formats of living that involve increased mobility of humans, capitals, discourses and meanings. The internationalisation of capitalist production and labour policies, the elimination of barriers to the movement of commodities, people, capital and services across national and continental borders, the emergence and fast growth of the Internet as well as other forms of mobile, long-distance communicational technologies, and the expansion of transportation systems, etc. facilitate and escalate extensive and complex connecting between people, places, cultural, discursive and material resources. This intensified and multifaceted mobility causes shifts in the established mechanisms of identity construction by making distant the familiar points of references and disrupting and/or loosening the ties to the spaces of cultural, national and social belongingness involved in the identificational process. This research project is concerned with the implications of transnational mobility, for the ways in which social realities are made and organized and human identities are constructed and negotiated. Below, I formulate the objectives of the research presented in this dissertation and delineate the perspective from which it deals with the complexities of transnational living.

### I. CHALLENGING TRANSNATIONAL COMPLEXITY

As Sanjeev Khagram and Peggy Levitt emphasize, “human social formations and processes have always been trans-border and trans-boundary to a significant degree” (2008, pp. 2, 3). The forms of mobility enumerated above as well as a plethora of other formats of cross- and trans-border relations, of their manifestations and of their outcomes do have clear historical analogues: “colonialism and imperialism, missionary campaigns, anti-slavery and workers’ movements, pirating networks and jazz” (Khagram & Levitt, 2008, p. 2). Neither these historically-established forms of transnational relations, nor the yet emerging transnational associations and transnational ways of life have escaped scholarly attention. The studies of diverse ways in which people, economies, materialities, symbols, etc. get on the move is not a novel academic direction. Neither is the research that explores these diverse forms of mobilities by focusing on the ways they cross and transgress geographic-political, symbolic and cultural borders of nations – i.e. from the

transnational perspective. The question arises: when neither the set of phenomena in focus – transnational mobility – nor the line of research that seeks to investigate these phenomena – transnational research – are new, why is it that the academic works, which have emerged in the last decade, unanimously and with ever-increasing intensity call for and urge the *construction* of transnational studies while stressing “tremendous value and potential in defining” this academic field (Levitt & Khagram, 2007, p. 3; Khagram & Levitt, 2008; Hannerz, 1996; Aksoy & Robins, 2003; Pries, 2008).

There are three factors that trigger these calls for intellectual revisiting and re-defining of the transnational agenda. The first factor is concerned with the above-described escalation and expansion of transnational relations, both in terms of the rapidly progressing diversity of the formats of these relations and in terms of their growing density and tempo with which they are constructed and re-constructed, that continually supply transnational commentators with new sets of concerns, occurrences and tendencies, which require urgent conceptual and analytical attention.

Another factor is related to the heterogeneity of transnational experiences and of the multitude of societal regimes and constituents that are involved in these experiences and that result in the highly “fragmented body of scholarship across the social science” within which the researchers “do not generally see themselves as part of the same conversation” (Levitt & Khagram, 2007, p. 3). This does not mean that scholars, who “rather than clinging to or trying to re-coup a world in which nation prevails” try to understand how it changes when it is constituted transnationally (Pries, 2008, p. 3), ought to dismiss the theoretical prisms and analytical perspectives across which transnational scholarship is distributed. In fact, those writers who insist on the fundamental re-thinking of the transnational field see “the vitality and prospects” for it in the ontological and epistemological differences between the approaches included in this field as much as in the overlap and agreement between them (Levitt & Khagram, 2007, p. 3). However, these writers do advocate the formation of an “intellectual foundation” for transnational research (Levitt & Khagram, 2007, p. 3). In sympathy with this request I believe that as *multi-disciplinary* as the area of transnational studies might (and should) be, there is a need for accumulation of conceptual and methodological tools, empirical and analytical cases, sophisticated debates and critical discussions of the research findings and their public, political, philosophical and pragmatic implications, etc. on which future examinations of transnational mobility can draw and which would provide the base for *inter-* and *cross-disciplinarity* among these examinations that I see as the only epistemological regime

capable of addressing transnational complexity. The collection of such an intellectual foundation is what I consider to be the area in which my research can contribute.

Finally, the re-defining of transnational studies represents one of the central concerns of a scholarly agenda because, as Levitt & Khagram (2007, p. 9) unequivocally express it, “at present, everyday and scholarly language does a poor job capturing transnational dynamics”. While this statement might be too rigid and, as demonstrated later in this dissertation, there are aspects of current scholarly repertoire, which, unquestionably, are valuable for the upcoming transnational research and on which this research can rely, generally it grasps very well the difficulties which some of the established transnational rhetoric has in addressing the density, dynamics and messiness of transnational encounters and connections.

Partially this is due to the fact that this repertoire was formed within the framework of social studies pre-occupied with nation-states and the way they participate in forming and sustaining societies, so that any relations that cut across national borders continued to be examined with the assumption of nation as the principal form of social organization and state being the primary form of social governance. Partially because those studies that emerged within the post-national paradigm and that aim at transgressing this “embedded nationalist assumptions” did not yet provide a viable conceptual alternative (Levitt & Khagram, 2007, p. 8).

The research approaches which take on the task of examining cross-border mobilities seem to be polarized between two extremes. On the one hand, there is a “worldist” scholarship (Levitt & Khagram, 2007, p. 6), such as globalization studies, that tends to assign a world-wide character to any relations that appear to be transgressing the borders of nation states and to describe these relations in terms of vaguely-defined flows taking place on the segregated scales of micro and macro, below and above. These studies approach transnational mobility as a novel and, hence, extraordinary phenomenon that subdue human agency and the multi-vocality of this agency.

On the other hand, there are multiple research lines that view transnational living through the prism of human agency, such as diaspora and migration studies. By drawing attention to the processes of identity construction these perspectives contribute greatly to making visible and understanding the complexities that transnational attachments add to the matters of belongingness. What the advocates of re-construction of transnational scholarship see as problematic in some of the studies that have emerged within the aforementioned research directions is the tendency to essentialize transnational

living as a split and deviant, chaotic and “difficult state to be” (Stavrakakis, 2005, p. 84; Burrell, 2008, p. 369) through the metaphors of exile, nomadism and an absolute dislocation, or of a perpetual transnational wandering between two “apparently fixed moments of departure and arrival”, of ‘home’ and ‘host’ (Ahmed, 1999, p. 5).

While these theorizations seek to explore the ways of living and thinking that transgress nationality, in defining transnational belonging through the aforementioned dichotomies and addressing it in terms of identity crisis, they do not admit to the possibility of these ways being viable and durable. It is in response to the repeated scholarly encouragements to deal with the conceptual restrictions highlighted above that I embarked on the investigation presented in this monograph.

## II. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES: TOWARDS THE CONCEPT OF TRANSNATIONAL NETWORKING

Within the framework of this investigation, I aim at contributing to the re-defining of the transnational field, initiated in the studies outlined earlier in this chapter, by focusing on the ways social life cuts across and transcends ideational and material, geographical and political, discursive and symbolic manifestations and markers of national, ethnic and cultural belongingness and on the ways in which it breaks “the barriers of thought and experience” (Ahmed, 1999, p. 5) associated with these categories.

While much of the research concerned with the “predicaments of the hyphenated-identities” (Visweswaran, 2008) and with transnational attachments through which these identities are constructed is preoccupied with the questions of *what* and *where*, such as: *What* are the transnational societal units and transnational spaces between which transnational shuttling takes place and “where exactly do different types of transnational social spaces actually exist”? (Pries, 2008, p. 3), I am interested in the questions of *how*. *How* do diverse, temporally and geographically dispersed, physical, social, political and symbolic places across which, and in association with which, the lives and the identities of the social actors are organized become intertwined in their mundane acts and actions? *How* does the construction and re-construction of these connections both cut across and transgress the points of references, meanings and experiences through which nationalities, their territories and memberships are “imagined” (Hall, 1992; 2007)? *How* do the discursive and social practices in which the actors engage in the course of their everyday lives, and



semiotic fields, technologies, forms of media and modalities enabling these practices, participate in sustaining and challenging, representing and articulating relational networks generated through this construction? And *how* are these networks involved in formulating the aspects of identities and in arranging and making sense of the aspects of realities (normative regimes, social arrangements, routines and practices) that are not necessarily and not explicitly anchored in national territories and memberships?

Thus, the central objective of my research consists in examining the complexity of transnational dynamics through mapping out, unpacking and critically discussing the on-going discursive and social networking, which the actors carry out in their everyday practices and which takes place at the interface between multiple semiotic, cultural and national sites and associations – what I refer to as transnational networking.

I argue that by moving my inquiry from the realm of the under-defined, ‘macro’, “transcontinental or interregional flows” (Held, McGrew, Goldblatt, & Perraton, 1999, p. 1) and from the constraints of the pre-defined transnational structures into the not nearly as exotic, probably more complex but most certainly rich and dynamic realm of actors’ practices I open it up conceptually to grasp the diversity of human agency, practices and interactions that are involved in and that enable transnational networking. This heterogeneity of transnational experiences might not catch the attention of the studies that start out from the assumption of a particular model of transnational order.

The objectives of my research are humble in a sense that I do not aim at investigating transnational relations of a “transplanetary or at least transcontinental scope” (Levitt & Khagram, 2007, p. 5): instead, I focus on the ways these relations are anchored in the everyday concerns and experiences of social members. At the same, the research task highlighted above is somewhat ambitious, because apart from profound theoretical re-thinking, it requires the development of a methodological framework fine-tuned to follow the actors’ practices and interactions across multiple semiotic fields and social sites. Moreover this framework should be apt for tracing and registering the intersemiotic and interdiscursive connecting produced through these interactions and practices and for examining analytically the making of discursive inscriptions, meanings and categories enabled by the aforementioned connectivity and employed by the actors in formulating and making sense of diverse transnational attachments and diverse aspects of transnational living. Development of such a methodological and analytical approach contributes to accumulating the

methods for dealing with the “dazzling” variety (Clavin, 2005, p. 422) of the transnational experiences which such scholars as Marcus (1995), Burawoy (2003, as cited in Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007, p. 143), Clavin (2005), Fitzgerald (2004), Levitt & Jaworsky (2007), Mazzucato (2007b, as cited in Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007, p. 143), Khagram & Levitt (2008), Pries (2008) see as one of the central tasks on the current agenda of transnational research.

The scope of my research project is concrete and tangible as its empirical focus lies with the concrete and observable actions and interactions of the actors (members of the Russian-speaking community in Northern Jutland) taking place within and across three sites of their engagement: a computer-mediated social space Rusforum, a grocery store “Sadko” (the so-called “Russian” shop in Alborg) and Rusmam/the Russian school, a network initiated by Russian-speaking parents in 2006. Yet, this project reaches beyond territorial (‘micro’- or ‘locality’- oriented) ways of addressing transnationality, as the empirical work carried out within its framework is concerned not only with capturing how transnational connections are constructed *within* diverse sites across which the actors’ lives are organized and how these actors form attachments to particular, dispersed memberships. The most crucial empirical task of this investigation consists in tracking and making visible how transnational associations are constructed *between* the social, physical and semiotic sites in focus and how these associations are linked to the social arrangements, interaction orders and activities outside the sites and engagements around which the fieldwork is organized.

Later in this dissertation I present a detailed account and discussion of how these empirical tasks as well as the theoretical and methodological objectives highlighted earlier are realised in the course of my investigation.

### III. DISSERTATION STRUCTURE

The dissertation is structured around nine chapters. Below I shall describe shortly what aspects of the research project each of the chapters deals with and how.

Chapter 2 that follows the introductory chapter is titled “Theorizing Transnationality: Literature Review and Theoretical Positioning of the Research”, It contains an in-depth survey into the ways in which concepts such as transnationality, transnational identity, mobility, transnational network,

transnational practice, etc., which are central to my research, are theorized within the framework of diverse fields of social studies, such as globalization studies, transnational migration theories, diaspora and diaspora identity research, etc. Within the framework of this theoretical survey, I review and critically discuss the existing, often contradictory, conceptualizations of the aforementioned notions, thereby highlighting the theoretical and methodological challenges currently faced by transnational scholarship as well as identifying those its accomplishments on which I draw in my investigation. In doing so, I elaborate further on the aims of my research and define its theoretical positioning in the broad and heterogeneous field of transnational inquiries.

Chapter 3 of the thesis titled “There is a Method to Every Mess: Developing Multimodal, Socio-Semiotic Discourse Approach to Doing Ethnography of Practice” represents a methodological quest for the ways to strategize the examination of mechanisms through which transnational networking becomes enacted. By formulating the epistemological and ontological grounds on the basis of which I view social realities and approach the knowing of its transnational aspects I develop the criteria relevant to how this knowing is to be organized. Furthermore, I assemble a methodological toolbox and an analytical repertoire that meet these research criteria and that are apt for identifying and describing “the many contradictory ways in which social aggregates are constantly evoked, erased, distributed, and reallocated” (Latour, 2005, p. 41) across and beyond national borders in the course of actors’ interactions as well as for mapping out and disentangling tightly woven nexuses of connections between diverse meanings, discursive frameworks and membership categories constructed in this process.

Chapter 4, “Engaging the Nexus of Practice: Assembling the Data Archive”, contains the narrative of a three-year-long ethnographic journey through which I generated an extensive, multimodal archive of materials on which I rely in my analytical examination. This narrative describes personal and academic involvement, research and participatory activities that enabled me to identify the social sites, activities and interaction encounters around which my fieldwork was organized. Moreover, it shows the scope of the ethnography that I carried out in the course of this fieldwork and makes tangible the materials that comprise my data archive as well as people, places and actions, involved in the production of these materials.

Chapters 5 and 6 deal with a hard set of pragmatic and ethical issues that accompany the research practice that seeks to grasp the multifacetedness and complexity of human actions and interactions

and their involvement in the making of meaning and reality through close and long-term engagement with these actions and interactions. In Chapter 5, I discuss the challenges of and propose solutions to giving voice to the non-English data in the context of an English-speaking research tradition and to capturing and transferring into the analytical work the semiotic and modal richness of this data. In Chapter 6, I address the matters of research responsibilities and ethical considerations connected to practicing participatory ethnography in co-present and computer-mediated interaction contexts.

Chapter 7 represents an analytical inquiry into the methods and mechanisms of transnational networking. This inquiry starts out from the analytical position triangulated in Chapter 4 and continues across diverse segments of data registered in my data archive and across multiple encounters, interaction contexts and actions with which these segments are associated and which I captured through the ethnographic work. By focusing on the details and devices through which these actions and interactions are organized I follow the meaning-making that the actors enact across multiple semiotic fields and sites of their engagement. In doing so, I explore the social and discursive mechanisms that social members mobilize to organize their lives and memberships across and beyond national attachments.

Chapter 8, titled “From Studying Transnational Networking to Understanding Transnational Governmentality”, contains the critical discussion of those analytical threads and conceptual arguments that I have developed and put forward in the course of my investigation and throughout the dissertation and that concern the matters and the methods of transnational living and identity construction. Within the framework of this discussion, I demonstrate and reflect on how the theoretical and analytical findings of my research contribute to understanding the ways in which transnational living, transnational belongingness and transnational conduct are constructed and instructed, made durable and contested. Furthermore, I consider the implications and potential applications (both public and academic) of the insights into transnational dynamics at which I arrived as a result of my investigation and of the proposed within its framework way of looking into and thinking about transnational matters.

Finally, in Chapter 9, I look back on the personal and academic journey presented in this monograph by summarizing the arguments put forward in the course of the discussion, by critically reflecting on the limitations of my research and by considering the directions along which it could be developed further.

## CHAPTER 2: THEORIZING TRANSNATIONALITY: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL POSITIONING OF THE RESEARCH

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As outlined in the introductory chapter, the research focus of this project includes a broad spectrum of social, discursive and cultural facets, which bring together the issues of transnationality and national belonging, mobility and identity formation, discourse construction and networking etc. This intersection of the current themes requires devising of a comprehensive research strategy, the theoretical and methodological grounds of which pay attention to human and material agencies, technological and cultural resources, discursive and social practices. These demands place my investigation at the crossing point between a number of scholarly fields, such as, transnational, globalization and discourse studies; identity and intercultural communication research, mobility, diaspora and migration enquiries etc., turning it into interdisciplinary examination that makes use of the academic work within both the humanities and the social sciences. Due to the interdisciplinary character of my study, drawing the conceptual map, which will form its theoretical base, involves delineating and discussing a number of theoretical notions and arguments that travel across scholarly fields as well as across public and political discourses. Such notions central to my enquiry as ‘identity’, ‘transnationality’, ‘globalization’ and ‘networking’ are highly in use both in academic writing and in mass-media rhetoric, where they become assigned diverse, elusive and often contradictory meanings, which makes the task of discussing their conceptual boundaries and theoretical underpinnings even more significant. Within the framework of this chapter I shall, therefore, begin to address the theoretical complexity highlighted above by outlining, juxtaposing and critically debating a broad spectrum of theoretical perspectives that deal with the issues in focus. Through mapping out manifold understandings and arguments that emerged within the framework of these perspectives and making visible possible tensions and unresolved problematics present in the body of the existing scholarly work I shall prepare the grounds for building up a conceptual toolbox for my own investigation and defining theoretical and analytical position of my research within the paradigm of current academic thought on transnationality, discourse and identity construction as well as its contribution to it.

## I. CONCEPTUAL AMBIGUITIES OF TRANSNATIONALITY

***“Caught in the ambivalences of these double/lives of our times we tell each other our hybrid stories: part yours, part mine, a part that is written in a language of mixed bits and pieces that is as yet unresolved, caught in the midst of developing a vocabulary of values and wishes which engages the double aspect of the global ideal-an extensive historical achievement yearning for an elusive aspirational horizon” (Bhabha H. K., 2007, p. 47)***

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In his book “Global Complexity” John Urry (2003) writes: “It increasingly seems that we are living through some extraordinary times involving massive changes to the very fabric of normal economic, political and social life” (p. 1). The wave of rapid and dramatic transformations pinned down in the quotation above includes such tendencies as internationalisation of capitalist production and labour policies, elimination of barriers to the movement of commodities, people, capital and services across national and continental borders, emergence and fast growth of Internet as well as other forms of mobile, long-distance communicational technologies, expansion of transportational systems etc. There is no doubt that historical parallels can be found to many of these technological and social innovations: for instance the invention of the telegram and telephone, which can be considered analogous to the emergence of the World Wide Web, Christian Crusades and colonial resettlements, which undermine claims about the unprecedented nature of the contemporary migrational flows, or trading-related mobility along multiple European merchantmen routes of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Clavin, 2005, p. 423). It is, therefore, not the absolute novelty of the aforementioned changes that makes the current alterations of social, political and cultural spheres exceptional but a broad encompassing scale at which they take place and overwhelming and escalating force with which they affect the time-space dimensions inbuilt in our everyday lives. It is the remarkable mobilising, distance-reducing, time-condensing, space-opening impact of the contemporary transformations that have made them the centre of undivided public, political and academic attention in recent decades.

## I.1. Transnationalism in Globalizational Theories

Multivocal, often contradicting, discussions of the meanings and consequences of the messy and complex social and technological shifts, which produce unparalleled fusions of the human and the technological, the material and the ideological, have resulted in the emergences of diverse theoretical vocabularies. ‘Juggernaut’ (Giddens, 1991), ‘the death of distance’ (Cairncross, 1997), ‘liquid modernity’ (Bauman, 2000), ‘Internet galaxy’ (Castells, 2002), ‘empire’ (Hardt & Negri, 2000) are just some of the terms used to define the processes in focus. While the aforementioned notions are both recognized and valued in the field of scholarly thinking, which attempts to make sense of massive interconnectedness that seem to be characteristic of the contemporary social reality, none of them can compete in the number of uses and users with the term *globalization*. Originating in the corporate world of the 1960s, “by the late 1980s it has become firmly established in academia, and by the 1990s was no less than a catchphrase of public discourse” (Appelbaum & Robinson, 2005, p. xi). Paradoxically, it is exactly its strong appeal to public and academic commentators what has made the concept of ‘globalization’ the target of a wide scholarly criticism. As noted by Al-Ali & Koser (Al-Ali & Koser, 2001), being “currently *en vogue*” this notion is overused, misused, and used “without conceptual or definitional clarity” (p. 1). As a result, rather than becoming a clear-cut tool of theoretical and analytical inquiries, ‘globalization’ increasingly serves as a catch-all umbrella term that broadly and abstractly refer to “the widening, deepening and speeding up of global interconnectedness” in all aspects of contemporary social life and “spatio-temporal processes of change which underpins a transformation in the organisation of human affairs by linking together and expanding human activity across regions and continents” (Held, McGrew, Goldblatt, & Perraton, 1999, pp. 14,15).

The concept of *transnationalism* emerged at an early stage of global studies. This stage characterized by scientific attempts to record, map, classify and monitor the ‘global’ and its effects (Castells, 1996; Held, McGrew, Goldblatt, & Perraton, 1999; Urry, 2003, p. 3; Scholte, 2000) has produced scholarly work that focuses on the relationship between the established notions of ‘national’, ‘state’, ‘regional’, ‘local’ and multidimensional linkages that seem to defy these static and enclosed modes of organizing and referencing political, social and cultural processes. Those of



the debates that have introduced the concepts of ‘transnationalism’ and ‘transnationality’<sup>1</sup> into the discussion of this relationship, have done so for various reasons and from various competing theoretical and empirical positions, which I shall review and critically discuss below.

The most dominant understanding of ‘transnationalism’ rose out of the theoretical efforts to deal with all-encompassing character of the notion of ‘globalization’. In attempt to “slice” the bulk of social reality loosely covered by an idea of ‘globalization’ into more specific and more analytically digestible segments, a number of theorist have employed the concept of ‘transnationalism’ to define processes, which sustain relationships of migrants “simultaneously to two or more nation states” (Basch, Schiller, & Blanc, 1994, p. 7) and whose purview primary includes migrational flows (Basch, Schiller, & Blanc, 1994; King S. A., 1996; Guarnizo & Smith, 2006). Within the framework of this perspective the concept of nation is assigned highly political, territorial, state-bound understanding, which largely makes transnationalism a “trans-statal” category (Kearney, 1995, p. 548). Along the lines of this particular view on transnational phenomena, lineal movement between politicized national territories defined as transnationality leads to cultural and personal *detrterritorialization*. Perceived as single-vector process of cultural uprootedness and ultimate disattachment of people from their familiar “soils” (King A. , 1997, p. 6) detrterritorialization and, hence the concept of transnationality tied up to it, become visibly anchored within the realm of essentialist thinking, which reduces ‘cultures’ to homogeneous, segregated entities fastened to political and geographical borders of nations. Scholarly writings that maintain this rhetoric of detrterritorialization also actively draw on the concept of community either defined as “decentred”, “universal” and “impersonal” (Kearney, 1995, p. 549) or as *diasporas*, “a full cross-section of community members who are dispersed to many diverse regions of the world, and who yet retain a myth of their uniqueness and an interest in their homeland” (Gonzales 1992:31, as cited in Kearney, 1995, p. 559).

## **I.2. Transnationalism and Diaspora Research**

This loose and arbitrary terminological connection between the notions of ‘diaspora’ and ‘transnationalism’ is sustained in a large part of scholarly inquiries that deals with the issues of

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<sup>1</sup> Theoretical and analytical consequences of using these specific terminological forms to describe transnational phenomena will be addressed further in this chapter.



migration. The recurring attempts to articulate a clear-cut distinction between these phenomena, which are present in diaspora research and on which I shall focus in this section of my thesis, only perpetuates the theoretical ambiguity of the concept of transnationality.

According to Kennedy and Roudometof (2002), “the strong leaning in literature has been directed towards research mainly concerned with migrants, diasporas and transnational-state building (Basch et al. 1994; Danforth 1995; Cohen 1997; Smith & Guarnizo 1998)” (p. 2) within which the term ‘transnationality’ has been designated in US-based academic writing to the experiences of post-1945 new immigrants into the USA. British researchers, such as Safran (1991); Anthias (1998); Van Hear (1998), on the other hand, have predominately employed the term ‘diaspora’ in dealing with new migrational groups, for instance, Kurds, Palestinians etc. (Kennedy & Roudometof, 2002, p. 2). As Kennedy and Roudometof (2002) point out, this delineation of transnational issues does not only tie transnational studies to one specific set of practices (nationality-bound practices) and one specific form of communities (migrational communities) it also articulates transnationalism as completely novel category of human experiences. The vision of transnationality as an unprecedented phenomenon ignores deep historical roots of transnational practices theorizing them solely as an outcome of and a reaction on the recent globalizational tendencies. As a result, many of the existing transnational studies produce an incomplete theoretical and analytical projection of transnational living from which human experiences, which do not explicitly involve the category of nationality, and human practices, which involve other identity aspects than ethnical, are simply absent. Consequently, everyday practices and experiences such as parenting, familial relationships, prandial practices, religious rituals, consumption etc. that are central to human lives are left outside the empirical and theoretical scope of transnational research.

In another attempt to “extricate” diaspora from the “loose associations” with transnationality, the concept of transnationalism is defined as “the flow of people, ideas, goods, and capital across national territories in a way that undermines nationality and nationalism” (Brazier & Mannur, 2007, p. 7). This understanding of transnational processes reserves the actual movement of people “from one or more-nation state to another”, described in the previously overviewed arguments as transnational, to the notion of diaspora” (Brazier & Mannur, 2007, p. 8), whereas transnationalism is referred to as “larger, more impersonal forces – specifically, those of globalization and global capitalism” (Brazier & Mannur, 2007, p. 8). This differentiation articulates diaspora as “above all, a human phenomenon – lived and experienced”, transnationalism, on the other hand, becomes

described primary as “macroeconomic and technological flows” (Brazier & Mannur, 2007, p. 8). It might seem that the theorizing of transnationalism described above opens up the category of transnational movements, for instance, by including “the traffic in goods, products, and capital across geopolitical terrains through multinational corporations” (Brazier & Mannur, 2007, p. 8). However, what it actually does is split, once again, the fabric of social reality into segregated spheres of the human and the non-human that exist on two disconnected scales - micro and macro, respectively. Within this conceptual framework the notion of transnationalism becomes coupled up with the term ‘globalization’ and theoretically confined to the grounds of unidentified, grand “impersonal” (Kearney, 1995, p. 549; Brazier & Mannur, 2007, p. 8) techno-economic flows, thereby formulating transnationality in the same isolated and incomplete manner as the previously-discussed debates.

### **1.3. Transnational Migration Theories**

Another direction of scholarly work, which invokes and dispute the concept of transnationalism is migration studies. Until 1990s migrational research (mostly USA-based), concerned with the social and cultural trajectories along which the new-comers build their lives in the receiving country, has been predominantly operating with one central notion – the notion of immigrant *assimilation*. The term ‘assimilation’, as well as the related concepts of ‘acculturation’ and ‘integration’, have figured as the main pillars of one of the theoretical perspectives of migrational studies – assimilation theories – which argues that most of the immigrants are bound to achieve a state of economic, social and cultural equality with the native-born citizens (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007, p. 130). As a result, many of migrational studies in their early stages have been pre-occupied with examining the ways by which immigrants achieve this state. This was the case until a number of migrational scholars (such as Basch et al., 1994; Faist, 2000; Schiller, 1992; Portes et al., 1999; Guarnizo, 1997 etc.) introduced a new perspective to understanding of migrational experiences, which suggested that “some migrants continued to be active in their homelands at the same time that they became part of the countries that received them” (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007, pp. 130,131). The aforementioned perspective, which views migrational processes through “transnational optic” (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007, p. 130), has become a starting point for the development of a new theoretical and empirical field in the migrational research – transnational migration studies.

Over the past two decades this area of scholarship has undergone a number of changes, turning it in a diverse and “highly fragmented” (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007, p. 130) field of debates that describe and discuss the ways in which migrants produce multiple connections between “here” and “there”, “home” and “host societies”, “below” and “above”, “receiving” and “sending nations” (Portes, Guarnizo, & Landolt, 1999, p. 218; Waldinger & Fitzgerald, 2003, p. 1). The initial definition of transnationalism generated within the context of this research direction described transnationality as “processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement” (Basch, Schiller, & Blanc, 1994, p. 7). A wide range of scholarly inquiries, which followed this first conceptualization of migrational experiences through the notion of transnationalism, have been engaging ever since in vigorous debates regarding the novelty, the duration and the form of these ties as well as the extent to which the term ‘transnational’ is analytically valuable and theoretically applicable for their description.

Early tendencies of migration studies “to see transnational migration everywhere” (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007, p. 131) gave rise to extensive scholarly criticism and calls for more precise theoretical articulations of transnationality. Multiple and diverse reformulations of transnational connections that emerged in response to this demand vary from rather narrow delineations of the notion in focus, which limit transnational ties to “occupations and activities that require regular and sustained social contacts over time across national borders” (Portes, Guarnizo, & Landolt, 1999, p. 219) and that are “habitual” and “predictable” (Guarnizo, 1997; 2000, as cited in Levitt and Jaworsky 2007:132), to more recent conceptualizations, which describe as transnational “single or multiple cross-border activities...regular...or prompted by specific situations” (Morawska, 2007, p.153, as cited in Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007, p. 132). Similarly, the novelty of transnational phenomena has become a constant source of disagreements in academic writing. While some scholars have emphasized the newness of the experiences, which can be considered transnational (Portes, Guarnizo, & Landolt, 1999), others have focused on their historical precedents (Vertovec, 1999, p. 447; Foner, 2000, as cited in Waldinger & Fitzgerald, 2003, p. 16; Chan, 2006; Gabaccia, 2000, as cited in Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007, p. 133; Morawska, 2005). Apart from these theoretical discrepancies regarding the origin, the character and the duration of the relations which can be described as transnational the studies on transnational migration have repeatedly questioned and problematized the value and applicability of the term ‘transnational’ for theoretical and empirical examinations of migrant living. Anthropologists such as Glick Schiller (2005), Basch and Blanc-Szanton (1994) have insisted on using the terms ‘transnationalism’ defined as the social connections

between receiving and sending nation-states and ‘transmigrants’ employed to denote the people who sustain the connections to both of them. Whereas other scholars have critiqued one or both terms pointing out the fuzziness of their conceptual boundaries and suggesting allegedly more adequate terms such as ‘bio-localism’, ‘trans-state migrant social action’ (Waldinger & Fitzgerald 2003:8) and ‘translocalism’ (Guarnizo & Smith, 2006; Barkan, 2006, as cited in Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007, p. 131).

As demonstrated above, within the framework of transnational migration studies the notion of transnationality is prone to theoretical ambiguity and conceptual disagreements in the same way as within the context of the previously-discussed globalization studies and diaspora research. A number of scholars that work in the field of transnational migration have spotted these inconsistencies and commented on their analytical and theoretical consequences. Alejandro Portes, Luis Guarnizo and Patricia Landolt (1999), for instance, have stressed the lack of “a well-defined theoretical framework and analytical rigour”, which threatens “the viability of an otherwise promising topic of research” (p. 218). Roger Waldinger and David Fitzgerald (2003) in a more recent theorizing of transnational phenomena have pointed out an “[...] ill-defined and unperiodized ‘now and ‘then’” that remain unaddressed in the majority of research on immigrational transnationalism (p. 16). These theoretical bewilderments are seen in the latest work on transnational migration as major conceptual weaknesses of the very idea of ‘transnationality’ to such an extent that many scholars have asked whether we “have already reached the end of a ‘new’ concept” and whether “transnationalism lacks the importance that has been attributed to it” (Dahinden, 2005, p. 192).

Despite the variety of views on the role and significance of the term ‘transnationalism’, which exists in the research paradigm discussed above and which at its extremes ranges from “the initial euphoria” about the ideas of transnationality (Dahinden, 2005, p. 192) to the claims of its end, some theoretical aspects of the concept in focus seem to be shared by the majority of the transnational migration scholars. One of such commonalities in understanding transnational phenomena involves viewing transnationality solely as connections and activities between sending and receiving countries produced and sustained by migrants. Thus, whether these connections are conceived of as linear movements or as more complex and dynamic “migration circuits” (Besser, 1999; Kearney, 1995, as cited in Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007, p. 132) and whether social spaces within which they emerge are addressed as ‘transnational communities’, ‘transnational villages’ (Wimmer & Schiller,

2002, p. 8), ‘transnational social formations’ (Guarnizo & Smith, 2006) or ‘transnational livelihoods’ (Sørensen & Olwig, 2002, as cited in Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007, p. 132), this conceptualization of transnationalism does not pay theoretical or analytical attention to the relations and practices that go beyond or involve other sites than ‘home’ and ‘host’. Moreover, it defines transnationality as exclusively migrational experience drawing the line between migrant and non-migrant living.

Another theoretical trait characteristic of transnational migration research refers to its tendency to think of transnational living as a number of segregated fields of human engagement that takes place across national and state borders. A number of scholars, thus, approach the study of transnationality based on the preconceived typologies, which divide transnational phenomena along theoretically imposed lines between: (a) personal, cultural, social and political (Vertovec, 1999; Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007; Waldinger & Fitzgerald, 2003); (b) institutionalized and sporadic (Itzigsohn, 1999, as cited in Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007, p. 132); (c) global and local (Guarnizo & Smith, 2006). In doing so, they have also made a number of narrow couplings between political, economic and global, between personal and local etc, thereby suggesting a pre-structured and pre-determined vision of how transnationality is organized and produced.

Despite the limitations highlighted above, the value of theoretical and analytical contributions to the examination of transnational ways of living made by the transnational migration research should not be underestimated. Scholarly work originated within this perspective have stepped away from the essentialist conceptualizations of transnationality as an abstract and uniform phenomenon, suggesting instead a much more complex understanding of it in terms of diverse and multi-dimensional human experiences. This research direction has drawn attention to a number of theoretical and analytical challenges connected to the examination of the transnational, putting an emphasis on the importance of further development of this field of scholarly work. Moreover, the recent theorizations of transnationality emerged in the context of this approach have suggested new ways of describing and making sense of transnational links, which actively draw upon and involve such concepts as ‘network’ and ‘practice’ and which I shall address and discuss in the next section.

### **I.4. Theorizing Transnationality: Pitfalls and Challenges**

In this section of my thesis I have, thus, outlined and discussed three major perspectives in scholarly work (namely, globalization studies, diaspora research and migration theories) which have addressed and disputed conceptual boundaries of transnationalism. The aforementioned perspectives contribute greatly to placing transnational matters on the agenda of academic inquiries that deal with social, cultural and political sites of contemporary reality and to drawing attention to the problematics and challenges of mobile living. However, as demonstrated above, an array of studies emerged within the framework of these approaches tend to treat transnationalism as an intermediate category, whose theoretical purview includes abstractedly defined processes of identity disattachments and human experiences locked in-between even more abstract idea of globalizational flows and articulation of nationality produced by immigrants. The concept of transnationalism became invoked in the aforementioned studies as a medium for developing a more sophisticated way of dealing with globalizational tendencies. However, somewhat limited understanding of transnational phenomena, which was employed for this purpose, has not made the concept of globalization more tangible, nor has it captured the complexity and multifacetedness of transnational dynamics.

The above-mentioned scholarly writings often approach transnationalism as a completely new phenomenon and limit the term 'transnational' to the description of migrational processes between two or more nation states, which lead to the displacement of the identity formation from the familiar field of the *national* into an undefined and undiscussed sphere of the *detrterritorialized*. As a result, a wide range of social engagements and arrangements, which are not explicitly anchored in the matters of national belongingness, remain outside their attention. Theoretical parallels to this segmented vision of socio-cultural realities that isolates transnational experiences from other aspects of living can be also found in some of the writings emerged within another scholarly direction which is concerned with transnational mobility – transnational migration research.

In an attempt to produce a more specific delineation of the concept in focus, many transnational migration scholars became engaged in breaking up transnational activities into pre-conceived types placed on hierarchically-arranged and disconnected scales of global and local, personal and political etc. From the realization of this conceptual restrictedness of transnationalism emerges one of the major tasks of my research. This task involves opening up the confined theoretical space reserved

for the notion of transnationality to include a broader paradigm of everyday experiences and practices significant to people, which engage in transnational living. I aim at developing a more complex way of investigating and debating the identity formation in the context of mobility, which goes beyond the conventional views on transnational identities that either address them in terms of connections between ‘home’ and ‘host’ societies or in terms of loosely-defined deterritorialized communities placed somewhere in-between global and diasporic scales of being. In doing so, I seek to move away from the established pattern of defining and dealing with transnational phenomena in contrast to such concepts as ‘globalization’ and ‘diaspora’ and join those analytical and theoretical streams of research, which begin to develop more independent and more critical approaches to the studies of transnationality. It is these approaches, which I shall present and discuss in the next section of my thesis.

## **II. STUDIES OF TRANSNATIONALISM: BEYOND DIASPORA**

The theoretical discrepancy highlighted above between various scholarly approaches to the study of transnational ways of being as well as the ambiguity in the way the notions of nationality and ethnicity, culture and community, identity and human experiences, locality and deterritorialization, mobility and attachment are used in articulation of the concept of transnationalism within these approaches have not remained unnoticed in academic debates. A number of scholars have problematized and addressed in their writing some of the theoretical challenges emphasised in the previous section.

Paul Kennedy and Victor Roudometof (2002), for instance, have commented on the fact that “rapidly expanding” literature on transnationalism does not reflect “the actual range of transnational communities increasingly shaping the everyday lives of people across the world” (p. 17). Such scholars as Nadjé Al-Ali and Khalid Koser (2001), Paul Kennedy and Victor Roudometof (2002), Levitt & Jarowsky (2007) point out that the conventional definition of ‘new migrants’ or ‘transmigrants’ has downgraded transnational experiences of ethnic communities outside the USA as well as non-migrant transnational associations, such as sport, leisure, lifestyle, business etc. In addition, they argue that transnational studies, which limit their attention to the ethnic and national loyalties, remain blind to the heterogeneity of transnational communities (Al-Ali & Koser, 2001, p. 5), “does not address what gender, race, and class actually mean when they are constructed



transnationally” (Schiller, 2006, as cited in Levitt & Jarowsky, 2007, p. 143) and ignore “the fragmented, ever-changing and plural realities of a multicultural – or transcultural (Welsh 1999) – existence shaped by multiple identities and affiliations” (Kennedy & Roudometof, 2002, p. 31). The call for the expansion of the traditional scope of transnational research is reflected in a number of recent studies of transnationality, which bring in into the discussion of the transnational a broader paradigm of human experiences, such as sport (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2007), music (O’Connor, 2002), art (Grierson, 2002), and of human identities, such as class (Sanadjian, 2002; Colic-Peisker, 2002), religion (Roudometof & Karpathakis, 2002) and profession (Contreras & Kenney, 2002). These studies, although still sparse, are opening up a new way of looking into the problematics of transnational living, which does not shy away from its complexity but put it in an analytical spotlight and which I shall be developing within the framework of this project.

What I see as particularly promising in this emergent approach to transnational studies is rising theoretical and analytical concern for the issues of identity construction as a way of de-essentializing transnational phenomena (later in this chapter I shall further explore the role of the concept of identity in the existing transnationalism research as well as in my own investigation). However, I find it alarming that this developing research direction in scholarly writing, which contributes to it, becomes yet another means of creating distinction between transnational connections. Whether explicitly or not, many authors differentiate between “transnationalism from above” and “transnationalism from below” (Al-Ali & Koser, 2001, p. 2), between transnational affiliations constructed around ethnical loyalties and those shaped by other concerns and interests (Kennedy & Roudometof, 2002, p. 31). Conversely, within the framework of my research, I argue that transnationalism should be regarded not as a *divide* between diverse aspects of human identities and diverse forms of human experiences, but rather as a *nexus* of human practices and a crossing point between various sites of identity construction.

## II.1. The ‘Network Lens’ in Transnational Research

A number of scholars, who contribute to the direction in transnational research described above, recognise the inability of the conventional dichotomized way of addressing transnationality to deal with the complex intersections of social relations, which are a part of transnational living. These



scholars do not only cease to view diasporas as “the exemplary communities of the transnational moment” (Tolölyan, 1991, p. 5, as cited in Vertovec, 1999, p. 449) and as the only paradigm for understanding transnationalism (Vertovec, 1999, p. 449), but they are increasingly beginning to emphasise that transnationalism “is first and foremost about people [...]” (Clavin, 2005, p. 422) and their “complex web of social roles and interpersonal relationships” (Dahinden, 2005, p. 191). During this shift from approaching transnationality as a pre-existing condition, which shapes the lives of people immersed into it, towards articulations of transnationalism as “the activities of ‘somebodies’” (Clavin, 2005, p. 422) transnational theorists draw heavily on the concept of *networks* as a way of viewing transnational issues through the prism of social relations, which channel transnational practices.

Some of the academic writing that adopts this perspective borrows its perception of ‘network’ from the tradition of urban anthropology (Dahinden, 2005, p. 193). This tradition distinguishes between “total networks of a group or society” and “personal” networks, as “the social entourage” of “one or more key persons within the total network” and characteristics of the linkages that form this entourage (Dahinden, 2005, pp. 191,192). Transnational inquiries, which are built upon this definition of ‘network’, view transnational relations as “social capital”, which the actors use in designing their “living strategies”, and aim at grasping “in detail the forms that migrant networks take”. (Brettell 2000, as cited in Dahinden, 2005, p. 192).

Janine Dahinden (2005) has commented that, although rooted within a well-developed field, few of the above-mentioned studies have succeeded in this task, linking this fact to the tendency of scholars (such as Bryceson, 2003; Yeoh Huang & Lam, 2005; Walters, 2005; Whitehouse, 2009; Wilding, 2006) “to treat networks exclusively as sets of kin (and sometimes friends), excluding all other forms of social relations” (p. 191). Similarly, Ruben Gielis (2009) problematizes the ability of this research direction to reflect the rapidly increasing complexity of transnational sociology. The aforementioned scholar points out that while there has been put much empirical and analytical effort in mapping out “the internal complexity” of the social networks – the spreading out across borders of former social relations, their “external complexity”, as “interrelation and interaction” between multiple networks in which people are involved, has been overlooked (Gielis, 2009, p. 272). Thus, while this particular perspective in the investigations of transnationalism has contributed greatly to the conceptual development of ‘transnationalism’ as a “continuum” of social links rather than a “complex but fundamentally closed set of relationships” (Waldinger & Fitzgerald, 2003, pp. 4,5),

the theoretical purview assigned to the notion of network within the framework of this perspective still remains too closed to capture the intensified connecting that takes place both within and between the networks, which might or might not involve familial ties.

Another line of transnational research, which incorporates a more open and complex definition of 'network' to examine "dense and highly active networks spanning vast spaces" (Vertovec, 1999, p. 449) that go beyond the family, takes advantage of Manuel Castells's (2004; 2002; 1996) work on what he terms "Information Age" and "network society". Drawing among others on Castells's articulation of networks as "a superior organizational form for human action", which are "powered by the Internet" and which due to their "inherent flexibility and adaptability" can "survive and prosper in a fast-changing environment" (Castells, 2002, pp. 1,2), such scholars as Paul McIlvenny and Pirkko Raudaskoski (2005), Raelene Wilding (2006), Matthijs Van Den Bos and Liza Nell (2006) who deal with various forms of transnational practices, make technology and Internet the centre of their analytical attention. By including on-line interaction into the empirical and analytical agenda of transnational research, and by focusing on "an emerging 'network sociality'" (McIlvenny & Raudaskoski, 2005, p. 60) that shape transnational practices, the studies produced within the framework of this perspective begin to take into consideration transnational networks formed by loose, unstable and dynamic forms of linking. This connecting has been ignored in the prior academic writing on transnationality locked in within "problematic dualisms" of micro and macro, global and local, societal and technological "that often hinder our understanding of socio-cultural ordering" (McIlvenny & Raudaskoski, 2005, p. 60). In addition, these studies make a valuable contribution to a long-needed theoretical reformulation of transnational places, which enable the shift from "local and scalar fashion" of approaching transnational geographies to "open and relational" articulation of transnational spaces (Gielis, 2009, p. 273).

## II.2. The 'Placial Turn' in Transnational Studies

This shift, which Rube Gielis (2009, p. 273) refers to as the "*placial* turn" in the transmigration studies, increases the theoretical distance between directions in transnational research preoccupied with persistent categorizations of transnationalism in terms of segregated scales (which have been addressed earlier in this chapter) and those which engage in theorization of "transnationalism of the middle"(Smith, 2005; Mahler & Hansing, 2005, as cited in Levitt & Jarowsky, 2007, p. 142) as a

place-specific, dynamic, multi-sited, “borderland” phenomenon. (Anzaldúa, 1987; Sassen, 1996, as cited in Levitt & Jarowsky, 2007, p. 142). The latter line of scholarly arguments aims at describing and conceiving of transnational places “[...] in the ways that people living in them actually perceive them” (Wimmer & Schiller, 2003, as cited in Levitt & Jarowsky, 2007, p. 142) thereby highlighting the role of human practices, both material and ideational (Levitt & Jarowsky, 2007, p. 143) in the making of those places.

The placial perspective in transnational studies is rooted in the place-oriented research conducted during the 1990s within the framework of such disciplines as “philosophy (Casey 1993, 1997), human geography (Harvey 1996; Massey 1994; Soja 1996) and anthropology (Appadurai 1996; Hannrez 1996)” (Gielis, 2009, p. 277). One of the major achievements of this approach consists in removing the essentialized conceptual opposition between the notion of transnational mobility and the concept of place assumed within the mainstream studies of transnationality. According to Ruben Gielis (2009), “the background to this assumption was that place was equated with locality, which means that it was treated as a separate spatial entity (or scale) having no connections with the outside world and with only local meaning” (p. 277), whereas transnationality was conceptualized as flows and movements that take place on the global level. While the network approach has begun to subvert this dichotomy by making transnationality traceable through social relations, as long as places, within which the construction of these relations takes place, were regarded as closed, stable and segregated physical spaces, transnational research did not have a chance to move beyond the global/local binary.

In attempting to deal with the incapability of network perspective to overcome this binary, a number of researchers have begun to open up the concept of transnational place by drawing on the understanding of localities as “*constructions* out of the intersections and interactions of concrete social relations and social processes” (Massey, 1994, p. 120, as cited in Gielis, 2009, p. 277). This scholarly work has originated such concepts as ‘ethnoscapes’ (Appadurai, 1996), ‘translocality’ (Appadurai, 1995) and ‘translocal communication circuits’ (Smith, 2001, p. 3, as cited in Gielis, 2009, p. 276), used to define and examine transnationality as “cross-cutting local, translocal and transnational social practices [...]”, which “[...] “come together” in particular places” (Smith, 2001, p.5, as cited in Gielis, 2009, pp. 277,278). The aforementioned notions, thus, reject the “essential one-to-one relation between a place and a social network” (Gielis, 2009, p. 275). In doing so they expand the inward way of examining transnational networks dominating the transnational studies

and provide a potentiality for exploring the interaction between them, which I shall make use of within the framework of my investigation.

### **II.3. Theorizing Transnationality: Formulating the Research Objectives**

Thus, in this section of my thesis I have delineated approaches within transnational research, which go beyond theorizing transnationality exclusively around the notions of nationality and ethnicity and which participate in transforming the studies of transnational issues into an independent field of scholarly investigation. In dealing with such limitations of the prior scholarly work as dichotomized conceptualization of transnationality in terms of abstract technological, economic and cultural flows that take place on the disconnected scales of global and local, “below” and “above”, these approaches initiate a number of conceptual shifts. Firstly, they replace the discussions of ethnically- and nationally-bound migrant and diasporic communities with the examinations of more complex form of social relating that takes place within transnational networks. Secondly, they move from conceptualizing transnational places in terms of binary opposition between “home” and “host” to a more open, multi-sited notion of translocalities. Finally, they emphasize the role of human practices in the construction of transnational connections. Thereby, the recent scholarly works on transnational issues set off the development of a new theoretical repertoire that encourages a more critical and more encompassing approach to theoretical and empirical explorations of transnational complexities – the task, which I see myself contributing to through my research.

Despite their indisputable significance, the studies addressed above suffer from some limitations. As demonstrated, the discussions emerged within these studies open up exciting conceptual potentialities for building up new ways of capturing and discussing transnational mobility in all its dynamics and density. However, the empirical and analytical work that follows these discussions does not quite live up to their theoretical promises. Much scholarly effort has been spent on highlighting multi-sited, placial character of transnational networks and on conceptualising social aspects of the spatial constructions, thereby implicitly stating the hybrid – physical, social, geographical, cultural – character of both transnational places and transnational networks. However, these studies do not explore the complex, continuous, multi-faceted connecting, shifting and transforming that takes place between the social and the material, the physical and the discursive,

the stability and the mobility, which enables this hybridity and which I shall be examining in my project.

One of the reasons why such explorations so far have been somewhat incomplete lies in the fact that there is no ready-made methodology that would allow the researchers to register and describe the “dazzling” variety of transnational encounters (Clavin, 2005, p. 422) and crossings that were made open for investigation by this new mode of theorizing transnationalism. Such authors as Pries (2008), Levitt (2007), Jaworsky (2007), Khargam (2008) have emphasised that conventional ethnographic tools, such as surveys, “[...] are not designed to capture flows, linkages, or identities that cross other spatial units[...]”, than nation-states units, “[...] or the phenomena and dynamics within them”. Marcus (1995), Burawoy (2003, as cited in Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007, p. 143), Fitzgearld (2006, as cited in Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007, p. 143), Mazzucato (2007b, as cited in Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007, p. 143), and Hakken (1995, as cited in McIlvenny & Rausaskoski, 2005, p. 61) argue for ‘pluri-local’, ‘multi-sited’, “thick and empirically-rich” (Vásquez & Marquardt (2003:227, as cited in Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007, p. 14) ethnographic approach, which “follows the actants, the artifacts, the metaphors, the narratives, the life/biographies and the conflicts in and across multiple ‘sites’” (McIlvenny & Raudaskoski, 2005, p. 61). The development of such an approach represents one of the imperative methodological challenges, which I shall undertake within the framework of my research.

Another limitation associated with the majority of both place- and network-oriented studies refers to a tendency to juxtapose “virtual” and “physical” aspects of transnational being. While the empirical focus of such examinations is rather diverse, the analytical work and discussions, which derive from it, can largely be grouped under two general claims. One concludes that on-line sites of transnational living and acting are “representational virtual spaces” (Gielis, 2009, p. 281), which merely mirror or reflect “offline communal patterns” (De Mul, 2002, as cited in Gielis, 2009, p. 281; Van Den Bos & Nell, 2006, p. 216). Another argues that such “virtual neighbourhoods” (Appadurai, 1995, p. 219, as cited in Gielis, 2009, p. 282) are completely “new, spatial realities” disembodied and disconnected from “physical places” (Gielis, 2009, pp. 281,282). Regardless of which one of the outlined above inferences becomes reached within these studies, they all inevitably suffer from treating on-line and off-line interaction as two segregated aspects of human experiences and practices. In doing so they waste entirely an opportunity to trace, describe and make sense of the dynamic and continuous connecting between multiple co-present and computer-

mediated sites of human engagement, which in fact, I argue, is what enables and mediates the construction of transnational practices. Therefore, I believe that mapping out and analytically addressing this connecting is the most significant affordance created by introducing the ‘network’ ‘place’ lenses into the studies of transnationality, which I shall make one of the central objectives of my research.

To do that I need to tackle the previously described weaknesses of these otherwise promising directions of transnational studies, which in my view can be traced back to two academic oversights. One of them is related to the use of concept such as *practice*, in general, and *transnational practice*, in particular. Many scholars of transnationality increasingly recognise the role of individuals - their physical and ideational being and doing - in the construction of transnational ways of living. In doing so, they continuously and explicitly employ, tapping into each other’s writing, the notion of practice without pausing to explore what this notion actually entails. I claim that understanding and investigating transnationalism in social terms, which recent studies strive to accomplish, will be impossible without profound examination of how this social is made and re-made, how it is sustained and reproduced and how it is experienced and articulated by people. I believe that unless some urgent and serious theoretical and empirical attention is paid to “the transformations from practice, action, and habitus to person, characteristics and identity” (Scollon, 2001, p. 158), studies of transnationalism, which have just begun to escape the essentialist trap of theorizing transnationality in terms of elusive flows, are risking to fall into the same pitfall now by drawing on the as vaguely defined concept of transnational practices. That is why one of the imperative concerns of my project involves exploration of the making of transnational practice:

*i.e. of how mundane and inconspicuous acts, actions and activities in which people engage in their everyday lives come to constitute practices, how these practices become stabilized, routinized and incorporated into the way people define themselves, how they are subverted and transformed challenged by shifts in technological, economic and political orderings and how it is all being done when it is done across national, statal, ethnic and linguistic borders, that is when it is done transnationally.*

Thus, instead of approaching transnational practices as a completely novel, extraordinary form of human practices isolated from other aspects of their being and doing, I argue that transnational

practices are complex, on-going and multifaceted connecting closely intertwined with and embedded within multiple and diverse experiences and activities in which people engage in the course of their everyday lives. One of the central research objectives of my project, hence, consists in capturing and discussing mechanisms and strategies that are involved in this connecting.

As practices that mediate transnational relating clearly do not take place within one site of people's engagement, one form of interactional encounters or one representational format, transnational practices do not stay enclosed within one specific "transnational place" or one specific form of modality. Instead, they stretch across multiple and diverse physical, social and cultural spaces, as well as across multiple and diverse discursive and semiotic fields thereby connecting numerous discourses, "spaces, materialities and artifacts" (McIlvenny & Raudaskoski, 2005, p. 60). Therefore, I argue that it is only through following, mapping out and unpacking these physical, material and discursive movements – the task which I shall undertake within the framework of my research - that we can make tangible and understand transnational living. However, the previously highlighted lack of systematic attention to the concept of practice, prevents many of the researchers from realizing this highly multimodal and dynamic character of transnational practices. While some of the network-oriented studies of transnationality recognize heterogeneity of agency, which participate in the construction of transnational practices, and while some adherents of the "placial" perspective (Gielis, 2009, p. 273) highlight heterogeneity of spaces involved in this process, the heterogeneity of modalities of transnational connecting and mediational means that enables this semiotic complexity remains largely ignored.

Another scholarly omission, which in my view is linked to some of the limitations in the existing transnational research addressed above, consists in lack of theoretical and analytical attention to the discursive aspects of transnational practices. This oversight is clearly linked to the partial and excluding perception of the notion of transnational practices that so far has been dominating the studies of transnationality. This perception reduces many scholarly examinations of transnationalism to the 'real' and traceable movements of capital and material goods, sweeping away less tangible and more complex forms of transnational mobility under the elusive notion of "flows". While the recent academic writing on globalization reflects a growing interest in "[...] discourse as an element or facet of globalization" (Fairclough, 2006, p. 14), the latest work in transnational research generally avoid focusing on the discursive aspects of "[...] trans-national and



interregional interaction” and of the “[...] the networks, connectivities” that “cut across spatial boundaries and borders” (Fairclough, 2006, p. 3).

An exception to this tendency can be found in the scholarly literature that deals with the construction of diasporic, migrational and transnational identities, which adopt discourse approach to the examinations of the ways people define and re-define themselves across cultural, linguistic and social spaces. This line of transnational studies will be further addressed in the next section of this chapter. However, already at this point, I find it crucial to emphasise that, despite their valuable contribution to the highlighting of the role of discourse in analysing and understanding transnational mobility, their take on this role is somewhat incomplete. According to Norman Fairclough (2006, p. 31), the semiotic or discursive “moment” of social practice, which he terms “orders of discourse”, are formed by “combinations of three sorts of entities: discourses, genres and styles”. Where a *discourse* refers to “a particular way of representing some aspect or area of social life”, a *genre* “is a particular way of acting”, while a *style* is “a way of being”, that is, “a social and personal identity” (p. 31). In the light of this sophisticated understanding of the way discourses participate in the construction and re-construction of social practices, it becomes clear that identity-oriented approach to the studies of transnationalism addresses only one aspect of the discursive moment of transnational practices – namely, ‘the way of being’ or ‘style’. I claim, however, that developing and employing a more encompassing socially-tuned discourse-oriented analytical framework will provide vast, and yet only partially explored, possibilities for describing and explaining transnational “[...] events as mediated in, through and across talk, text and other modalities of discourse” (McIlvenny & Raudaskoski, 2005, p. 60). Such a framework, which I shall begin to assemble in the next chapter of my thesis, will allow me to trace, make tangible and available for further analysis and discussion those multiple, dynamic and intertwined movements of people, materialities and discourses, which constitute transnational practices. Before I engage in this work I shall discuss theoretical underpinnings of one more central to my investigation concept - the concept of transnational identity.



### III. TOWARDS THE CONCEPT OF TRANSNATIONAL IDENTITY

*"They told me I am a "Minority"?  
But I am the daughter of an IAS officer  
Papa controlled Mumnai in his palms!  
Here I am in/visible, adjusting, learning  
No maids to cook chapatti  
No dhobis to do laundry  
They ask me about my "culture"  
Is there an American "culture"?  
Between India and America  
I move my home, my culture  
I have become more Indian in America."  
(Monologue transcript, as cited in Kakali Bhattacharya, 2009, pp. 15,16)*

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*"O, my shoes are Japanese  
These trousers are English, if you please  
On my head, red Russian hat –  
My heart's Indian for all that"  
(The hit song "Mera Joota Hai Japani", as cited in Rushdie, 1999, p. 11)*

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Philosophical, academic and literary searches for and into the meaning of individual and collective being and the ways in which this meaning is derived and sustained through time and space have begun centuries ago framed by such terms as “*soul, psyche, person, personality, selfhood, subject, agency*” (Lemke, 2008, p. 17) and perhaps the most prominent, discussed and contested of them all – the concept of *identity*. Stuart Hall (2007), Bethan Benwell and Elizabeth Stokoe (2006) differentiate between three major theorizations emerged in the history of identity thinking: Enlightenment subject, Sociological subject and Postmodern subject. The multitude of multidisciplinary contributions that have produced these theorizations have taken the notion of identity through a number of fundamental shifts, as a result of which the early conceptualisations of individual as an autonomous being driven by reason, became substituted by the romantic views of the self in a constant, guided by emotions, search for the authentic inner-core. These views, in their turn, became replaced with the Freudian and Lacanian understandings of the selfhood in terms of reflexive personalities left at the mercy of unconsciousness and socio-linguistic notions of interactive identities, whose inner-core is shaped in relation to the others. The most recent

*postmodern* theorization of identity both builds up upon and transgresses the aforementioned conceptualizations addressing individual as a fragmented, fluid, contradictory and flexible self. (Hall, 1992).

The later approach to the notion of identity emerged within the framework of post-modernist thought, which have made visible, embraced and opened up for theoretical and analytical discussions such aspects of identity as multidimensionality, decentredness, intersubjectivity and discursivity. In academic writing these identity traits are often being tied together and addressed as one novel and distinctive identity form, the so called *postmodern identity*. This perception has, however, been contested in the recent scholarly work, which emphasises that

*“the multiplicity and hybridity of postmodern identities is not new and exceptional, but is rather the contemporary realization of more general principle (Lemke 2002a) that in identity development, we learn how to perform diverse relation identities in interaction with diverse others across the significant social divisions within our community, particularly age and gender, but also class, ethnicity, race, religion, and so on” (Lemke, 2008, p. 18).*

The aforementioned postmodern realisation has formed the current agenda of identity studies, which includes a wide range of issues that, among other things, explore the ways in which diverse identity dimensions become less or more salient in various contexts, i.e. the construction of the *situated identities*, and the ways in which during this process *language-in-use* becomes integrated with the “non-language stuff”, i.e. the construction of *discourses*. (Gee, 1999, as cited in Holliday, Hide and Kullman, 2004, p. 75). Postmodern identity theories investigate how “certain bodies, certain gestures, certain discourses, certain desires” become constituted as individuals and how in the course of that process individuals emerge and function as both the “effect” and the “vehicle” of *power* (Foucault, 1980, p. 98). Identity thought is interested in how *identities-in-interaction* are enacted and performed bodily, semiotically and politically (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006; Butler, 1993, Goffman, 1961, Harre, 1979, as cited in Lemke, 2008, p. 17).

In the past several decades rapidly increasing mobility of people combined with “the refusal of cultural products and practices to “stay put”” (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992, p. 9) resulted in the fact that not only “the displaced” (refugees, migrants, stateless people, “new nomads” (Auge, 1992, Urry, 2003, as cited in Krzyzanowski & Wodak, 2008, p. 97)) but people who remain within familiar cultural and geographical spaces experience the displacement (Bhabha, 1989, p. 66, as cited in Gupta & Ferguson, 1992, p. 9) adding to the already packed agenda of identity studies new

sets of concerns. These concerns revolve around the fact that what identity scholars have earlier described in terms of simplified, more or less joined identity packages formed around social categories of gender, age, class etc. has now become a loose “mix-and-match” “collection of different elements: norms, values, discourses, institutions, identities, roles, artefacts, settings” (Lemke, 2008, p. 36). The essentialized connection between places, cultures, people and identities have been compromised by the expansion of human, technological, financial etc. mobility, resulting in a “gradual de-articulation of culture” (Lemke, 2008, p. 36) and “a generalized condition of homelessness” (Said, 2001) . This shift in the mechanisms of identity construction, described in academic writing on *detrterritorialized* and *dislocated* identities (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992, p. 9) has put into question the very basics of the “us”-“other” dichotomy opening up for theoretical and analytical revisiting established terms in identity research such as *culture*, *belonging*, *difference*, *diversity*, *home* and so on. The directions of scholarly work, which are engaged in the reformulation and further exploration of these notions and which are interested in the set of issues highlighted above, bring together conceptual and analytical realizations of identity studies and theoretical and empirical concerns of transnational, globalizational, diasporic and migrational research discussed earlier in this chapter. In this section of my thesis I shall address academic investigations, which have emerged within the framework of the above-mentioned directions and which focus on the examination of various aspects of transnational belonging, such as legal (transnational citizenship studies), communal (diaspora identity research) and cultural (‘transnational shuttling’ theories).

### III.1. The Issue of Transnational Citizenship

Scholarly explorations of belonging across and outside national, statal and cultural borders have always been closely intertwined with the searches for the establishment of the criteria and boundaries for the political belonging in the form of “political-scientific research on citizenship” (Krzyżanowski & Wodak, 2008, p. 100). In these quests the concept of citizenship has been traditionally articulated through a set of bureaucratic requirements and legislative acts, which defined the legal base of political membership, necessarily combined with the demands for cultural belonging, translated into such political strategies as integration, assimilation and acculturation. Although to a different degree and through different mechanisms, all of the aforementioned strategies command a new or soon-to-be citizens to acquire and obey the uniform and fixed set of norms, beliefs and values, which is allegedly associated with the recipient country, nation or

culture. However, “porous boundaries and multiple identities” connected to transnational and mobile living “undermine ideas of cultural belonging as a necessary accompaniment to political membership” (Castells & Davidson, 2000, p. viii, as cited in Krzyżanowski & Wodak, 2008, p. 100). forcing gate-keepers of the state systems to re-think “access to membership, recognition and citizenship” (Krzyżanowski & Wodak, 2008, p. 100) and encouraging numerous scholarly investigations into the issue of *transnational citizenship*.

The studies of transnational citizenship aim at foregrounding and dealing with the political and democratic consequences of cosmopolitanism demanding political community to take administrative and legal responsibility for securing the rights of and protecting “transborder citizens” (Shiller, 2005, p. 48; Stokes, 2004). In doing so, many of the aforementioned studies are currently taking a “substantial turn towards ‘identity’” (Krzyżanowski & Wodak, 2008, p. 100) making a valuable contribution to the identity research by stressing a political dimension in the identification process. In the face of the indisputable significance this academic work, its take on the concept of transnationalism in general and transnational identity in particular appears strikingly regressive. While claiming to deal with the complexities of belonging in what is addressed as migrant, transnational and global societies, much of transnational citizenship research dismisses not only the recent, more critical perspectives, which explore transnationality “*beyond* loyalties that connect to any specific place of origin or ethnic or national group” (Waldinger & Fitzgerald, 2004, p. 1178, as cited in Fox, 2005, p. 186,) but even more established scholarly directions such as diaspora, transnational communities and long-distance nationalism research (Fox, 2005). By defining transnational and cross-border movements in strictly “trans-state” terms (Fox, 2005, p. 172) and cutting it off from the so-called *translocal*, i.e. “community-based” (Fox, 2005, p. 187), networks, identities and practices, examinations of transnational citizenship firmly fixes the notion of transnational membership, belonging and identity to the concept of nation equated with and limited to idea of state.

The conceptual restriction of the above-mentioned research approach illustrates what Steven Vertovec (2001) describes as a general tendency of literature on transnationalism to underscore the complexity and multiplicity of territorially unrestricted conditions, contexts and physical places between which belonging and attachments are formed in the contemporary “multi-local life-world” (p. 578). This multi-dimensional and multi-spatial character of the identity construction is, however, highly recognized in the bulk of other approaches to understanding and examining transnational

identities, such as ‘transnational shuttling’ (Bhattacharya, *Negotiating Shuttling Between Transnational experiences: A De/colonizing Approach to Performance Ethnography*, 2009, p. 3) theories and the studies of diaspora identities.

### **III.2. The Studies of Diaspora Identities**

The studies of identities, emerged within diaspora research, are interested in the way ethnicity and nationality are being constructed against the “messy past” (Radhakrishnan, 2007, p. 125) and multivalent present of migrant living. Such authors as Salman Rushdie, Toni Morrison, Amitav Ghosh, Jamaica Kincaid, Bessie Head, Amy Tan, Maxi Hong Kingston, and many others (Radhakrishnan, 2007, p. 119) problematize the presumed authenticity, naturalness and self-evidence of ethnical identities and inquire into the ways they become cultivated across various national contexts. These inquiries focus on the empowerment and marginalization produced by the hyphenated forms of citizenship and national belonging, which allegedly “marks a dialogic and non-hierarchic conjuncture” (p. 121) between ethnic and national membership of immigrants. This approach to identity research adopts a highly relevant critical perspective that examines how the seeming symmetry of hyphenated identities masks privileging of the national and minoritizing of the ethnic and marks “a non-viable difference” through the discursive appeals to “roots and origins” (Radhakrishnan, 2007, p. 121).

The obvious limitation of such investigations, however, lies in their attention to the ethnical sites of identity formation process at the expense of the other dimensions of the self-construction, such as class, age, gender, sexuality etc. That is not to say that the discussions of gender, class and age positioning of immigrants are completely absent from the mainstream studies of diaspora identity. Writings, which explore migrants’ relating and relationships both outside and within diaspora, often highlight generational and gender differences as well as unevenness of material, power and social capital that follows with these differences. However, the non-ethnic and non-national elements of belonging become invoked in such studies only to “foreground commonly thematized topoi of immigrant cultures: the disruption and distortion of traditional cultural practices” (Lowe, 2007, p. 134) as a result of transnational living. Thus, only the diversity of one end of the hyphenated being is investigated, while the heterogeneity and incongruence of the experiences, narratives as well as of

the social and discursive practices that produce the other end of the binary (i.e. “original” or “home” culture), which arguably construes diasporic identities, figures as an unexamined common modifier.

Such authors as Stuart Hall (2007), Lisa Lowe (2007), Trinh T. Minh-ha (1989), Chela Sandoval (Lowe, 2007, p. 144), Angela Davis (Lowe, 2007, p. 144) question the deceptive neutrality of “binary schemas” utilized by many of the diaspora studies (Lowe, 2007, p. 142). The scholarly work produced by the aforementioned authors de-essentializes the concept of homeland by emphasising the heterogeneity of degrees and extents of relations that migrants form to both the “inside” and the “outside” of diasporas. What is, however, noteworthy is that while deconstructing the notion of fixed origin to which migrants “can make some final and absolute return” this work does not dismiss the significance of “*retelling* of the past” and of “imaginative rediscovery” of this origin to the construction of identities (Hall, 2007, pp. 235,237). Moreover, as in the writing of Stuart Hall (2007), it foregrounds the reality, materiality and symbolism of discursive representations within which this imagining takes place and which mediates multiple and on-going positioning that underpins the production of identities. In doing so the above-mentioned scholarly contributions acknowledge the role of the discursive practices in the constant transformation of meaning, which is involved in the process of identity construction and which takes place in-between and across multiple vectors connecting (not juxtaposing) past and present, similarity and difference, continuity and rupture. This acknowledgement is imperative to my research, one of the central aims of which consists in tracing the social and discursive connecting and relating that enables the above-mentioned transformations and re-contextualizations of meaning and that takes place across national and ethnic borders.

### III.3. ‘Transnational Shuttling’ Theories

Another approach within identities studies, whose interests go beyond reproduction of national identities at a distance and reconstruction of “a land of return” (Visweswaran, 2008, p. 302), is the research that looks into mechanisms of the so-called cultural commuting. This perspective recognises the mobile character of the contemporary strategies of identity formation. Within its framework, mobility is viewed as a cultural and placial duality, as “the desire (and the ability) to be both “here” and “there” (Visweswaran, 2008, p. 302), which splits actors’ lives and identities. The increasing currency of such studies undoubtedly refers to the fact that they are successful at

illuminating “the shifting identification with conflicting discourses”, which is associated with transnational living and which “indicates the lack of a “claimable” indigenous space” and the “fluidity of national borders” (Bhattacharya, 2009, p. 3). This academic direction highlights the complexities and problematics of transnational and migrational living and “predicaments” of the “hyphenated” identities that follow with it by introducing such terms as *transnational shuttling* (Bhattacharya, 2009, p. 16) and *biculturalism* (Visweswaran, 2008, p. 310). Both concepts define transnational living as continuous oscillation between two sets of “physical, temporal, and imagined spaces” (Bhattacharya, 2009, p. 16) and “violent shuttling between two or more worlds” (Visweswaran, 2008, p. 302), which deprives migrants of an ability to be ““home” in either place” (Spivak, 1983, as cited in Visweswaran, 2008, p. 310). An indisputable contribution of such examinations of cross-border identities comes from their acute awareness that the “experiential ambivalence” of “nomadic struggles” (Hegde, 1998, p. 35; Rushdie, 1991; Said 1993, as cited in Hegde, 1998, p. 51; Bhabha 1994) is as much gendered, racial and class-related identity positioning as it is ethnical (Crenshaw, 1992; Chen, 1992; Houston, 1992; Toro-Morn, 1995; Anzaldúa, 1981; Trihn, as cited in Hegde, 1998, pp. 36,37).

On this point, the aforementioned investigations echo the discussions dominating critical approaches to the study of transnationality, which insist that transnational practices go beyond the limits of such categories as nationality and ethnicity. This visibly verifies and triangulates theoretical standpoints of my research, articulated earlier in this chapter, through which I conceptualize transnationality as complex, multi-placial and multi-semiotic practices that link together and intertwine numerous points of reference, symbolic and material resources, social and discursive acts, which might or might not involve national and ethnic meanings. However, in my view the studies of ‘transnational shuttling’ often become caught up in the overstated and somewhat romanticized idea of perpetual unsettlement and conflict allegedly intrinsic to transnational living, thereby either overlooking or ignoring the ability of the ‘nomads’ to construct and re-construct anchorages and moorings against which they position themselves and re-define their identities as they engage in the transnational movement. In doing so these studies run the risk of rhetoricizing transnational living and transnational identity formation as a movement framed and predetermined by the already existing and fixed social and discursive places, thereby depriving people engaged in transnational practices of the agency and capacity to co-construct these places transforming them into what Bhabha (1994) refers to as the Third Space.



The above-mentioned limitation of the ‘transnational shuttling’ theories in relation to the study of transnational identities can be explained in terms of the dialectics of localization and cutting through the territorial boundaries, moorings and flows, sharing and rupture that underpin the notion of transnational identity. Such scholars as Steven Vertovec (2001) and Marian Kempny (2002) refer to this dialectics as a “paradoxical twist” (Kempny, 2002, p. 116) or an inherent juxtaposition (Vertovec, 2001, p. 573) of a transnational phenomenon calling for the theoretical and empirical explorations of both mobile and stabilizing aspects of the identity construction practices. The problematics, once again, lies in the absence of the ready-made methodology for tracing and describing the aforementioned dynamics of transnational identities as well as in the fact that most of such explorations (as shown above) focus on the collective or group facets of identificational process, such as the construction of diasporic and migrational identities, whereas such authors as Michal Krzyżanowski and Ruth Wodak (Krzyżanowski & Wodak, 2008) emphasise that migrational living is “a singular, subjective and unique experience which resists generalization” (p. 98).

#### **III.4. Theorizing Transnationality: Identity Quests in the Network Society**

As demonstrated in the current section of my thesis, in the existing bulk of scholarly work, which deals with the challenges of the human, material and technological mobility, the concept of transnational identity has not yet emerged as an independent area of theoretical and analytical research. However, as outlined above, the process of identity construction spanning across statal, national and communal borders has already become one of the central themes for the scholarly investigations within the diverse fields of diasporic, migrational, national and cultural studies. While these studies have certainly not been exhaustive in terms of grasping the conceptual and empirical complexity of transnational identity formation, they have spotlighted the significance of its further exploration as well as multiple ambiguities that are associated with it. Manuel Castells (2004) defines these ambiguities and dialectical tensions as reactions against the flexibility and instability of the network society, which blurs the boundaries of membership, involvement, institutions, relationships, space and time:

*“When the world becomes too large to be controlled, social actors aim to shrink it back to their size and reach. When networks dissolve time and space, people anchor themselves in places, and recall their historic*



*memory. When the patriarchal sustainment of personality breaks down, people affirm the transcendent value of family and community, as God's will" (p. 69)*

All of that done only to be destabilized and re-arranged again, when the “specific codes of self-identification: the community of believers, the icons of nationalism, the geography of locality” become contested by the new sets of meanings and values embedded in the informational flows (Castells, 2004, p. 69). It is through this complex and messy process that identities are being constructed. However, as Manuel Castells points out, “the real issue is how, from what, by whom, and for what” (2004, p. 7) they are being constructed. Answering these questions, which encapsulate central imperatives of my investigation, requires acknowledging that identities cannot be approached as sets of material and symbolic resources pre-composed before the acts of the individuals and attached to specific places. Instead, the notion of identity should be articulated as unique and diverse ways of organizing the meaning, which is “the symbolic identification by a social actor of the purpose of her/his action” (Castells, 2004, p. 7). Therefore, as already stated earlier in the chapter, in my project I shall trace, describe and discuss the organization of meanings as it takes place within the actions, acts and practices of the social actors and which span across paradigms of both “geosphere and infosphere” (Mannur, 2007, p. 283). This will necessarily demand the development of an analytical and methodological lens that would allow me to move between these spheres as well as to gain an access to, register and process both discursive and material facets of the practices through which individuals and social groups build their identities “from history, from geography, from biology, from productive and reproductive institutions, from collective memory and from personal fantasies, from power apparatuses and religious reservations” (Castells, 2004, p. 7).

In her article “Predicaments of the Hyphen”, Kamala Visweswaran (2008) writes: “Certainly the question, ‘Where are you from?’ is never an innocent one” (p. 301). Identity, which would inevitably underpin any possible reply to this question, is never an innocent subject either. It is transnational practices and human and technological mobility, which have made the *where* (not *what* or *who*) the key element in the process of identity formation in the contemporary world, suggesting a new way of thinking of identity and a new vocabulary for talking about it. This emerging identity repertoire encourages self-defining produced and described in terms of movements, routes, territories and destinations, i.e. in highly placial and topographical terms. While the *where* in this identity paradigm clearly refers to the spatial and placial movement of human

beings, it is not solely equated with geographical or physical location. The *where* in the current identity terms goes far beyond the place of birth and living or migrational destinations. Much broader, it stands for a *movement* of the individual between and across various *points of reference*, such as *race, blood, gender, physical appearance, citizenship, community memberships, familial relations, heritage, ethnicity, nationality, class, profession, sexuality, culture* etc. It is by examining this movement that I, within the framework of my project, shall attend to the complexity of contemporary mechanisms of identity construction.

#### IV. CHAPTER SUMMARY

The chapter above contains an in-depth survey into the scholarly work, within which concepts such as *transnationality, transnational identity, mobility, transnational network, transnational practice* etc., which are central to my research, have emerged and within which they proceed to be a constant source and driving force of vigorous and controversial academic debates. By outlining and critically discussing the existing conceptualizations of the aforementioned notions as well as diverse approaches to their empirical examination, I have traced and described their theoretical and analytical becoming, highlighted current conceptual and methodological challenges associated with this research field and delineated relevant and demanding directions for future academic inquiries of the transnational issues. Throughout the process of reviewing, synthesizing and disputing the existing scholarly literature preoccupied with transnational complexities, I have been systematically and critically relating contributions emerged within this literature to the theoretical, analytical and methodological objectives of my own research. In doing so, I have further explicated the aims of my investigation and triangulated its theoretical position among multiple and diverse disciplines that deal with issues relevant and related to its goals.

The field of transnational research can be viewed as a scholarly response to the inadequacy of *methodological nationalism*, as “the assumption that the nation/state/society is the natural social and political form of the modern world” (Wimmer & Schiller, 2002, p. 302) to grasp and address the dynamics of the contemporary technological, material, economic and human mobility. The concept of transnationalism have emerged as a result of scholarly attempts to move beyond “rhetorical generalities about the decline of the nation-state” (Wimmer & Schiller, 2002, p. 302) to the examination of the new forms of interconnectedness and mobility, which seem to be underpinning

all the aspects of the current social, cultural and political being. On the other hand, ‘transnationality’ also becomes frequently invoked in academic work as way of escaping the traps of *methodological cosmopolitanism*, which, very much like its binary opposite - methodological nationalism, tends to blend “the lines between description and prescription” (Appelbaum & Robinson, 2005, p. 67) in advocating cosmopolitization as the primary way of explaining contemporary reality. In addition, the notion of transnationalism is used by many scholars to deal with the elusiveness and with the washed-out conceptual boundaries of ‘globalization’, which has become a “bitterly contested buzzword, invoked by ideological camps with radically opposed viewpoints” (Appelbaum & Robinson, 2005, p. 66).

As demonstrated in this chapter, much of the scholarly writing organized around the concept of transnationality has been successful in contesting the discussions of the increased cross-border relating in terms of abstract, deprived of agency, macro scale flows, which dominate mainstream globalizational studies. Furthermore, recent and more critical directions of transnational research have been highly articulate in voicing the demands for the development of new ways of thinking of and examining globalizational and transnational tendencies, which would make more tangible human practices involved in the so far rather vaguely defined processes of cultural deterritorialization and identity dislocation viewed as one of the central features of the post-national paradigm. That is not to say that the concept of transnationality, which poses as one of the main carriers of the above-described theoretical shifting, has been unproblematic. Positioned as the intermediate category, caught-up in-between various often contradicting theoretical perspectives, ‘transnationalism’ inevitably comes to inherit conceptual tensions of these perspectives rapidly turning into the notion preyed by ambiguities and unresolved theoretical conflicts.

One of the central limitations of the notion of transnationality, as it is being conceptualized in many scholarly writings, relates to the fact that its theoretical and empirical explorations solely highlight the ethnical and nationality-bound forms of identity formation and cross-border movements, thereby, overlooking the complexity of attachments and connections involved in the construction of transnational belonging. Moreover, such conventional approaches to the study of transnationality overstate the homogeneity of both transnational and national or home communities. In doing so they re-enforce dichotomized views of transnational practices, which prescribe a vision of social as being split between such categories as “home” and “host”, “below” and “above”, “global” and

“local”, “technological” and “human” etc., hence dismissing the heterogeneity of discursive and material presentations, of social and cultural practices, of physical and symbolic identity positionings engaged in on-going structuring and re-structuring of these categories.

Another conceptual tension associated with the notion of transnationalism refers to the fact that the static, self-evident undertones of *-ism* in this term seem to be transferring onto much of the research on transnationalism. In this research exaggerated emphasis on the sustainability and regularity of transnational movements replace the investigations of transnational *mobility*, as it is being constructed within and made visible through dynamic and dense human experiences, with the searches for the transnational *condition* that arguably defines these experiences. These searches emerge within the studies pre-occupied with the socio-cultural mechanisms through which nationally-bound status quo becomes restored, at the expense of those forms of transnational practices and identity construction, which transgress the boundaries of *long-distance nationalism*.

‘Place’- and ‘network’-oriented directions of critical studies of transnationality strive to overcome the aforementioned limitations of transnational research by discussing transnational processes in terms of social relating that takes place across social and physical spaces as well as across multiple identity categories, such as gender, class and race. These studies introduce the concept of *transnational practices* as the main conceptual carrier for the description and examination of complex, dynamic and multi-placial belonging and connecting associated with transnational living. The emergence and development of this concept has initiated a significant turn in the scholarly work engaged in theorizing transnationality, which has firmly positioned transnational research as an independent field of studies interested in the erratic mechanisms and impacts of human acts and actions as opposed to pre-defined contexts and abstract macro flows.

However, the majority of these studies so far either have not been able to go beyond theoretical discussions of transnational practices or to live up in their empirical and analytical investigations to the conceptual potentiality suggested by the notion of transnational practices. This limitation of the existing research is certainly related to absence of a methodological framework apt for capturing the on-going connecting between social, cultural and physical places involved in transnational practices, which has been articulated by many scholars. In addition, place- and network-lenses are often adopted in the studies of transnationality as mutually exclusive frameworks, thereby depriving

the researchers of the ability to realize and grasp diverse and numerous links between spatial and social networks that are formed transnationally. Finally, the scholars interested in transnational mobility appropriate the notion of practice without paying proper attention to its theoretical underpinning. As a result ‘transnational practices’ become articulated as a unique form of social practices exclusive to migrant living and isolated from other sites of human experiences. Moreover, the arguments, within which these articulations emerge, overlook the significance of looking into the constant transformation of meaning, which mediates transnational practices and which takes place within multiple movements of actors between discursive and material semiotic presentations and between technology-mediated and face-to-face interactional spheres.

As demonstrated above my research begins in a multi-disciplinary and ambiguous theoretical terrain, rich on the relevant and yet uncharted directions open for both conceptual and analytical investigation. Within the framework of this chapter, I have delineated and discussed academic contributions, which make up this terrain and based on which I shall build up my own approach to theoretical and empirical examination of transnational mobility, either by drawing upon them or by distancing myself from them. In the following chapter, I shall begin to formulate a conceptual repertoire and develop an analytical framework that will allow me to make tangible and available for a profound and sophisticated discussion transnational practices in all the complexity of their discursive, material, human and technological manifestations. As emphasised in the chapter above, by focusing on the construction of transnational identities I shall bring agency into the discussion of transnational processes and connect within the framework of this discussion “phenomenological domain of lived moment-by-moment experience and the semiotic domain of enduring cultural and social systems of beliefs, values and meaning-making practices.” (Lemke, 2008, p. 21). In doing so I shall address transnational practices as on-going relating, in which the actors engage in their everyday lives and which, therefore, becomes closely intertwined with their acts, actions and activities that might or might not be organized around national and ethnic meanings. In my investigation I aim at tracing, describing and discussing discursive, social and cultural aspects of this relating that takes place at the interface of multiple social, economic and political realms of actors’ engagement and across diverse identity positionings against which they form their transnational belonging. I argue that transnational practices are carried out through complex and dynamic mechanisms of anchoring and disentangling, stabilizing and weakening of discursive, social and material connections that I term transnational networking and that I explore further in my thesis.

## CHAPTER 3: THERE IS A METHOD TO EVERY MESS: DEVELOPING MULTIMODAL, SOCIO-SEMIOTIC, DISCOURSE ANALYTICAL APPROACH TO DOING ETHNOGRAPHY OF PRACTICE

***“[...] what happens when social science tries to describe things  
that are complex, diffuse and messy.  
The answer, I will argue, is that it tends to make a mess out of it”  
(Law, 2004, p. 2).***

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As demonstrated in the chapter above, much of the recent research on transnational mobility, which has transgressed the theoretical constraints of conventional transnationalism studies, currently faces a new set of problems, now of a methodological character. Scholars who have opened up in their theoretical debates the conceptual complexity of transnationality are often held back in their empirical attempts to deal with the matters of this complexity by the absence of a methodological framework that would allow them to grasp the density and thickness of transnational experiences (Clavin, 2005; Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007; Khagram & Levitt, 2008; Pries, 2008; Marcus, 1995), Burawoy (2003, as cited in Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007, p. 143), Fitzgearld (2006, as cited in Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007, p. 143), Mazzucato (2007b, as cited in Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007, p. 143).

The fact that methodological developments lag behind increasing theoretical recognition of the multiplicity and messiness of the worlds that comprise the *out-there-ness* (Law, 2004; Law, 2003) is not exclusive to the agenda of transnational research but is a challenge presently met by most directions of social studies. Harold Garfinkel argues that “the research enterprises of the social science movement are defeated by the apparently hopelessly circumstantial overwhelming details of everyday activities – the plenum, the plenty, the plenilunium” (2002, p. 95). Garfinkel’s upfront admission of the methodological inadequacy of social science in dealing with the fluidity and mobility of contemporary social realities is echoed in the work of many scholars of Ethnomethodology (EM), Science, Technology and Society (STS), Actor Network Theory (ANT), Mobility, etc. (such as Law (2004; 2004), Latour (2005), Urry (2003), Rawls (2002), etc.) who stress that contemporary methods of social studies are not only unequipped for knowing the *mess* but in fact suppress any possibility of it (Law, 2003, p. 3).

What needs to be made clear is that what Garfinkel and Law, respectively, describe as “plenilunium” (Garfinkel, 2002, p. 95) or “mess” (Law, 2003, p. 3) is not a newly occurred irregularity, an exception or deviancy from the otherwise neat and clear social reality. The incoherency, inconsistency and multitude of the worlds that comprise the out-there-ness is not a unique and rare abnormality inherent to a specific aspect or scale of being (for instance, transnationality), which falls out of the scope of what has so far been applicable and adequate methodology of social science. It is not the world that has suddenly stopped fitting the epistemological descriptions and methodological tools produced and used by the science. . It is the science, which, as John Law (Law, 2003) points out, in its established, conventional form is unable to *know*, the complexity and heterogeneity of the world.

Having said that, while the messiness of the social is not novel in itself, it is the recent economic, political, technological and cultural developments (such as the internationalisation of capitalist production and labour policies, the elimination of barriers to the movement of commodities, people, capital and services across national and continental borders, the emergence and fast growth of Internet as well as other forms of mobile, long-distance communicational technologies, and the expansion of transportation systems) that have escalated and intensified the mobility and connectivity, which underpins it, to such a point that it has become visible and apparent in the most mundane of life’s practices and experiences. It is the increasing, proliferating and intersecting mobilities of humans, materialities, places, information, capital, artefacts, etc. that have placed “the politics of the mess” (Law, 2003, p. 3) on the theoretical and methodological agenda of various directions of social research triggering the formation of what John Urry refers to as “mobility paradigm” (2003).

Just as the other scholarly perspectives within this paradigm, transnational research has emerged in response to the rapidly mobilising worlds by introducing the concept of transnationality as one of the theoretical ways in which the aforementioned mobilities can be approached and discussed. Just as the many other mobility perspectives, transnational studies engaged in this task by building up on the theoretical and methodological premises of the conventional social studies, which were never equipped to address these mobilities in the first place. As John Law (2003) emphasises, the version of the out-there-ness assumed within the framework of these research approaches whatever is beyond our own existence as prior and independent of our actions and perceptions and as preceding out attempts to know it. Such a “primitive out-there-ness” is anchored in the “common



sense realism” (pp. 5, 6), which while admitting to and extensively debating the possibility of diverse and contradicting perspectives on examining and understanding the reality (that is epistemological multiplicity), never considers the possibility of the reality itself being anything but definite and singular (ontological multiplicity).

Committing to this version of reality sets the researcher off for the empirical and analytical work with a set of criteria, which dooms to failure any investigation into the “vague, diffuse, uncertain, elusive and/or undecided” (Law, 2003, p. 6) that *is* in fact the social, as such an investigation would never and could never produce the definite, coherent and clear epistemological description of the reality sought by conventional social science. Similarly, it would never be able to meet another criterion through which a good research method is formulated as the one that guarantees complete knowing of a specific aspect of social reality. This knowing, expected to be revealed in the form of “the all representing database” (Law, 2003, p. 7), involves focusing on the task of comprehensive and encompassing representing of whatever it is to be known about the reality and ascribing any imprecisions and absences from this representation to “technical flaws and failings, signs of methodological inadequacy” (Law, 2003, p. 9). Such obliviousness or conscious dismissal of the absent makes the latter criterion incompatible with any research, which aims at examining visible and accessible realities by following whatever escapes representation or is excluded from it. In addition, by fixing the reality as a set of constructions independent of and prior to the research activity, the aforementioned requirements for the social science methods ignore the productive character of practices of representing and knowing. By limiting the scope of the research activities to the concrete and coherent reporting of the reality, such normative approach does not leave any place for the researcher to consider the on-going change of the reality produced in the course of and by the research practice.

It is due to this discrepancy between the fluid, incoherent, messy character of the social phenomena that transnational research strives to know and those metaphysical grounds and methodological criteria on the basis of which the practices of this knowing are being organised, has led to the fact that, as Ludger Pries emphasises, traditional scholarly work on transnational matters gets stuck at “taken for granted for no reason” (2008, p. 5), polarised, spatially fixed units of analysis such as ‘local’ and ‘global’, ‘host’ and ‘home’, ‘virtual’ and ‘real’, ‘national’ and ‘diasporic’ (see Chapter 2 of the thesis for the extensive discussion of the consequences and implications of that discrepancy for the development of transnational research). It is also therefore, the more recent studies of



transnationality, which transgress the theoretical boundaries of common-sense realism and advocate pluri-local, practice-oriented, thick conceptualisation of transnational experiences, recognise that “developing of an adequate methodology and satisfactory methods for transnational research” still remains one of the *desiderata* of current scholarly work on transnationality (Pries, 2008, p. 4). Within the framework of this chapter, I shall therefore undertake the task of defining the criteria for what an “adequate” and “satisfactory” method for tracing and discussing the complexity and density of transnational accounts actually is within the framework of my research. Furthermore, I shall develop a methodological framework, which meets the abovementioned criteria.

## I. METAPHYSICAL AND METATHEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

***"ANT you have accepted to be, ANT you will remain!"***

***(Latour, 2005, p. 176)***

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In the previous chapter of my thesis, I have carried out an extensive discussion of diverse, complex, often ambiguous and problematic theorisations of transnationality through which I have arrived at the conceptualisation of *transnational* that opens up and makes available for empirical examination and analytical treatment the multitude, density and dynamic character of the experiences, links, places and categories, etc. invoked and evoked by this notion. This conceptualisation is formulated around the notion of transnational networking, which I use to define complex and on-going connecting anchored in and mediated by mundane, every day acts, actions and activities, in which the actors engage across multiple semiotic and physical sites and through which they organise their practices and their belonging both across and beyond commonplace, established national categorisations.

The above mentioned conceptualisation takes the view on the social, which I have outlined earlier in this chapter, and which is strongly advocated within the framework of Actor Network Theory (Latour, 2005; Law, 2004; Law, 2003). This view treats reality as “the many contradictory ways in which social aggregates are constantly evoked, erased, distributed, and reallocated” in the acts of the human actors (Latour, 2005, p. 41). By taking on the aforementioned position, I acknowledge the heterogeneous, incoherent and ever-shifting character of the ways in which units of society are

accomplished and made relevant, assembled and decoupled. At this point it becomes crucial to stress that making such a realisation does not equal assuming that these units of society and their construction and reconstruction are completely chaotic, inaccessible, unaccountable and unaccounted – it is not the same as assuming that there is no order and orderings behind the social complexity.

Just as ANT's commentators, I argue that social activities and actions in general and those activities, which take place across and beyond national borders in particular, are tightly woven nodes, knots and conglomerates "of many surprising sets of agencies" and associations (Latour, 2005, pp. 42, 5). Just as the scholars of ethnomethodology, I believe that "there *is* order in the most ordinary activities of everyday life in their full concreteness" (Garfinkel, 2002, pp. 95, 96). I thereby begin my investigation into the complexity of transnational mobility based on the premise that *there is a method to every mess*. I argue that there is a method behind the way transnational practices are organised, carried out and instructed and I see the current research project as an act of *knowing* (i.e. tracing, making visible, unpacking and discussing) both the *politics* (i.e. the construction) and the *pedagogy* (i.e. the instruction) of this method.

What I do *not* believe is that I can or should say what this method is "in advance, and *in place* of the actors" (Latour, 2005, pp. 41, 29). The method, or rather methods, through which "the building blocks" (Latour, 2005, p. 41) of the transnational become assembled, which define what these building blocks are and which I am, therefore, interested in, are not "models of social order" devised by "formal analysis" (Rawls, 2002, p. 41). The methods of transnational living, which I am concerned with, are the so-called *members' methods* (Rawls, 2002; Garfinkel, 2002; Latour, 2005) – "the embodied, endogenous, witnessable practices", in which human actors engage in the production and enactment of social orders in focus as well as "competencies required to achieve" and participate in this recognisable production (Rawls, 2002, p. 7).

What this means in concrete for my research on the matters of transnational mobility is that instead of assuming that the transnational is "a thing among other things" (Latour, 2005, p. 5) – i.e. a particular established and accomplished form of the social (for instance, a transnational context or scale) - I claim that the transnational is "a type of connection" (Latour, 2005, p. 5) between practices, sites, artefacts, symbols that are not themselves transnational. Therefore, in organising and carrying out my examination, instead of reaching for the obvious, pre-defined units of the social (such as global, local, diasporic etc.) made available in relation to the study of transnational

experiences by various directions of social science and clinging to these units, I make into the object of my study not *transnationality* in itself, but the actors' everyday practices in which transnational accounts occur and through which transnational categories become formulated.

I carry out the knowing of transnational connecting by focusing on the banal complexity of people's daily routines – the way they are enacted, breached, negotiated, reassembled and instructed and the way in which, in this process, geographical, discursive, cultural and political properties of national categories are made significant or irrelevant, utilized or excluded, rearticulated or transgressed. In doing so, I strive to avoid some of the pitfalls of the prior transnational research (discussed in Chapter 2 of the thesis), which tend to place their investigation either in the vague and unidentified realm of transnational processes, flows and conditions or in the conceptually enforced gaps between 'global' and 'local', 'home' and 'host', real and virtual, etc. In addition, by building my research not around specific units of social out-there-ness but around practices, through which these units are produced, named, referred to, made visible or covert, I am moving *away* from the reductionist view on the individuals as "mere informants" (Latour, 2005, p. 41) of science reporting on the accomplished social (that is problematized in the ANT's and EM's writings) and *towards* the recognition of the agency and productive role of human actors.

The immediate question that arises from the aforementioned and that I shall address further in this chapter is how I as a researcher reveal and make sense of the methods through which this agency is being exercised within, across and beyond national, ethnic and cultural categories. Scholars of ANT, whose approach to social science I appropriate and build upon within the framework of my project, argue that such an analytical task should be carried out through "tracing of the associations" (Latour, 2005, p. 5), which make up the above-mentioned agencies and a slow disentangling (Latour, 2005, p. 42) of the knots, in which these associations become woven by the actors as they engage in the multiplicity of their everyday practices. They also insist that it should be done based on the "disciplined lack of clarity" (Law, 2003, p. 3) – that by "knowing the distinct and the slippery without trying to grasp it and hold them tight" (Law, 2004, p. 3). What the ANT's commentators do not tell is how the aforementioned research guidelines can be met. This absence of the methodological proposals has become a common foundation for scholarly critique of both ANT and EM theories. To be fair, none of the authors and contributors of the aforementioned perspectives ever claimed to develop anything that could even remotely be understood or treated as methodology. On the contrary, Bruno Latour (2005), for instance, describes the instructive value of

his perspective by comparing it to a travel guide, which much like method “or, even worse, ‘methodology’” tells the researcher “where to travel” and “what is worth seeing there”, however, as opposed to a conventional “discourse on method”, “it cannot be confused with the territory” itself (p. 17). While Anne Rawls (2002) explicitly states that “ethnomethodology is not itself a method” but the theory claiming “that a careful attentiveness to the details of social phenomena will reveal social order”, which can be done in “many and varied ways” (p. 6).

This means that while I share and build my investigation upon metaphysical and metatheoretical inferences made by ANT and EM theories I cannot stay grounded solely within them through the analytical aspect of my research work. This also means that while I keep the focus of my research in line with the approach to viewing and knowing the social formulated above and derived from and on the basis of ANT’s and EM’s claims, I turn to the other research directions in developing the methodological toolbox for exercising this approach. In doing so, I supplement the views on the making and knowing of social realities and methods underpinning these realities, developed within the framework of ANT and EM, with a set of analytical and empirical strategies for locating and accessing the social arrangements and interactional events within which the making of realities in focus takes place and for mapping out and unpacking the chains of meanings and associations through which it is enabled.

## II. FROM THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF SITE TO THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF PRACTICE

Despite all the variety and heterogeneity of transnational experiences examined by transnational studies, the overwhelming majority of them end up methodologically within the scope of what for the past several decades has been broadly labelled *a qualitative ethnographic approach*. This approach, in its most established and commonly utilised formulation, operates with the concept of culture as its primary theoretical and analytical focus and advocates “understanding the world from the participants’ point of view” (Atkinson, 2008, p. 2) through “intensively-focused-upon single site” (Marcus, 1995, p. 96) observation and collection of interview accounts. What I see as problematic in relation to that methodological choice is that in adopting the aforementioned perspective, the scholars of transnational research risk inheriting “classic ethnographic appeal to holism, context” of a given social world explored with the “increasingly fragmented” methods

(Atkinson, 2008, pp. 2, 31, 33) and “little or no disciplined attention to modes of social action, and a remarkable insensitivity to the many different ways in which ‘experience’, ‘memory’, and ‘accounts’ are actually constructed and circulated within and between social worlds” (Atkinson, 2008, p. 29). This entails that a share of transnational research – research, which by definition is concerned with connectivity and movement - starts out empirically and analytically from the platform devised to capture and explore “encapsulation” (Marcus, 1995, p. 96) of a culture, a community or a site and is neither designed for nor intended to or interested in the complexity, multiplicity and multimodality of social actions, genres and places.

These empirically and methodologically thin grounds of conventional transnational research have recently become the centre of intense attention from a number of scholars who unanimously call for the prompt development of transnational research methodology (Pries, 2008; Levitt & Khagram, 2007; Khagram & Levitt, 2008). As Ludger Pries (2008) points out, transnational studies that initiate this methodological search remain within the scope of ethnographic perspective, turning, however, to its other mode, which George Marcus (1995) refers to as “mobile ethnography” (p. 96). This emergent approach surfaced from the postmodern paradigm of intellectual work “moves out from the single sites and local situations of conventional ethnographic research to examine the circulation of cultural meanings, objects, and identities in diffuse time-space” (Marcus, 1995, p. 96).

This approach requires from the researcher commitment to the documentation and examination of the complexity of social action and of multiplicity of the forms and modes, through which social life becomes enacted (Atkinson, 2008, pp. 31, 32). In that way, the aforementioned methodological perspective goes hand in hand with the metaphysical and metatheoretical premises of my own investigation, which I have formulated earlier in this chapter and which draw upon theoretical work carried out within the framework of mobility studies, ANT, EM and STS (such as Law (2004; 2004), Latour (2005), Urry (2003), Rawls (2002), etc.). Another point at which multi-sited ethnography intersects with the theoretical inferences of the aforementioned scholarly directions lies in their shared views on the global-local, micro-macro contrasts, which have become a common place in the transnational studies arguments. As George Marcus (1995, p. 99) points out for mobile ethnography there is no global dimension in any other way than as connections between local sites. Very much like for ANT there is no macro scale in any other way than as an “equally micro place,

which is *connected* to many others through some medium transporting specific type of traces” (Latour, 2005, p. 176).

The main strategy through which multi-sited ethnography suggests to explore the trajectories, along which the aforementioned connecting between multiple locations becomes constructed, involves the so called *following* of the people, material objects, metaphors, narratives, biographies, conflicts, etc. (Marcus, 1995). As George Marcus (Marcus, 1995, p. 106) and Ludger Pries (Pries, 2008, p. 4) note, transnational research has eagerly taken on board the aforementioned ‘following’ technique in relation to the examination of migrational and diasporic living. By following the members of a specific diasporic community the scholars of these research genres have been successful in demonstrating locational multiplicity involved in the formulation and production of nationality-at-a distance. Having said that, it should also be pointed out that transnational research is still only starting to move away from the conventional “holistic representation [...] of the world system as a totality” (Marcus, 1995, p. 99) and from the contrast-based discussions of it. As well as this, it is yet to develop a strong and extensive set of methodological frameworks, which would prevail over a long tradition of taking a segregating, “dimensional focus” in the empirical investigations. (Pries, 2008, p. 5)

It is indisputable that the methodological developments, which have been made within the framework of ethnographic approach so far, have provided social research with a long-needed opportunity to examine social realities by focusing empirically and analytically on the everyday circulation of discourses, material objects and symbols across multiple and connected social and physical sites. However, I believe it to be crucial to stress that this circulation does not occur through neat object-to-object, symbol-to-symbol, metaphor-to-metaphor linkages that begin and end in one semiotic field, with one form of modality. The complexity of connecting, which takes place across the locations, consists not in, or not only in, mere multiplicity of links between the sites but in the wealth of modalities and semiotic fields involved in the formation of these links and in the continuous transformation from one semiotic form to another which the symbols, meanings, objects and discourses undergo in the process of this formation.

I claim that it is these transformations, which Rick Iedema (Iedema, 2001), describes as *resemiotization*, is what enables the on-going linking between the sites of engagement, across which humans organise their practices, and between various points of reference and categories, which they invoke in negotiating their identities. It is these shifts of modalities that mediate the production and

reformulation of meaning through which the actors both construct and represent social realities. Therefore, it is exactly what we need to make visible, map out and discuss if we want to access and address a particular aspect of making these realities – such as the making of transnational practices.

What I thus have set out to do within the framework of my project is to write an ethnography - not the ethnography of a particular initial group of people, culture or location, but *the ethnography of practice*. Here *practice* is understood not as fixed, established forms of human activities inherent to specific phenomena (such as “transnationalism”) and independent of the other human experiences and engagements. Instead, it is seen as social actions that are mediated through a variety of semiotic resources and the modes, in which they are used by the actors, and that participate in the production and assigning of meaning to social realities. Because the same actions and acts in which the actors engage in the course of their everyday lives are involved in the organisation and representation of diverse and multiple aspects of these realities, practices, which become constructed, stabilised, regulated and challenged through the aforementioned *mediated actions* (Scollon, 2001), become closely intertwined with each other through complex and ongoing intersemiotic linking. It is, therefore, this linking that makes the object of my ethnographic *following* and it is what allows me to grasp the multitude and multimodality of categories and recourses, which enable transnational networking as well as to examine those practices that mediate this aspect of social complexity.

As stated earlier, I approach transnational mobility by introducing the concept of transnational networking as one of the aspects of contemporary realities continuously made and remade by the actors in the course of their everyday lives and mediated through numerous multimodal mediated actions, which might or might not involve the nationality-bound categories. Therefore, the methodological framework that I develop and apply in my project to examine the aforementioned aspect of reality making is not what can be referred to as a “transnational method” or a “transnational methodological perspective” - i.e. a specific set of methodological tools apt for exploring a specific facet of out-there-ness (such as transnationality). Rather, I argue, it could be described as a *multimodal socio-semiotic approach to writing the ethnography of practice*. That is - the way of knowing and discussing any aspect of social realities, any set of practices or categories through mapping out and unpacking intersemiotic connecting accomplished by tracing the production and multiple semiotic transformations of the material, discursive and ideational *inscriptions* (Law, 2004), which is carried out by the actors as they engage in their everyday practices and which mediate the acts and actions that organise, sustain or unsettle these practices.



So far in this chapter, I have been preoccupied with explaining *why* I believe it to be necessary to develop this methodological approach in order to address the complexity of transnational mobility. That is, what existing contributions and limitations of transnational studies, what metaphysical views on the organisation of the social and metatheoretical reflections on the organisation of the social research have inspired or persuaded me to formulate and devise the aforementioned approach. Bellow, I shall begin to account for *how* I do that. That is - how I go about finding and selecting the inscriptions relevant to examining issues in focus. How do I trace and make visible the ways in which semiotic recourses and modalities have been used in the production of these inscriptions, how do I unpack the connections construed in the course of this production and map out the sites across which it takes place? How do I collect and register such highly multimodal material and how do I explore analytically the affordances of each semiotic form represented in this material?

Moreover, and more importantly, I articulate how this is undertaken in sympathy with the criteria for social research articulated earlier in this chapter, which require me to organise my research practices as “knowing the distinct and the slippery without trying to grasp it and hold them tight” (Law, 2004, pp. 2, 3). Knowing, which does not create unjustified “gaps between disparate frames of reference” (Latour, 2005, p. 177), which is apt to grasp the method behind the making of transnational realities without imposing the order on this making and which recognises my own engagement in the practices in focus without confusing it with or substituting for the members participation.

### III. WHAT'S DISCOURSE GOT TO DO WITH IT

To begin with, I do it by focusing on the *discourse*. The concept of discourse, which in its most common and broad definition refers to *language-in-use*, and discourse studies as an equally broad “collection of vaguely related practices and related theories for analysing talk and text” emerged from variety of scholarly perspectives, such as social constructionism, linguistics, critical psychology, deconstructionism, phenomenology, post-modernism, etc. and have been influenced by such writers as Foucault, Goffman, Garfinkel, Sacks, etc. (Rapley, 2007, p. 4) As confusing the theoretical origins of ‘discourse’ concept are, its present position in scholarly work is defined by even more “confusing array” of research traditions that includes such perspectives as Actor



Network Theory, Conversation Analysis, Ethnomethodology, Critical Discourse Analysis, Membership Categorization Analysis, Discursive Psychology, etc (p. 4). The reason why I chose to use ‘discourse’ as the central conceptual and analytical vehicle in examining transnational networking is because it allows me to examine the political, historical, social, and cultural specificity of this aspect of contemporary realities by focusing on knowledge, action and situated meanings as they become actively assembled by the actors in their everyday lives (Rapley, 2007, p. 4; Gee, 1999, p. 49). In the methodological framework, which I develop in this chapter, ‘discourse’ serves as a channel – i.e. both conceptual tool and analytical strategy – that creates a two-way junction between the cultural, political, social values and roles of the practices and categories in focus (often referred to as ‘macro’) and the mundane, seemingly disconnected and irrelevant acts and actions of individuals (the so-called micro) without actually breaking them into the aforementioned dimensions. This enables me to organise the research activities of knowing transnational networking as a “situated inquiry” (Law, 2004, pp. 2, 3), by beginning with the mundane accounts rather than looking for the expected and pre-thought controversies (Latour, 2005, p. 29) and without analytical leaping that creates unaccounted gaps between various frames of reference.

This becomes possible because I view discourse as the multiplicity of ways in which we humans integrate language with non-language “stuff”: thinking, acting, interacting, valuing, feeling, believing, and using symbols, tools, and objects (Gee, 1999). This does not mean that I believe that everything is discourse. Some materialities have a strong linguistic aspect, like a billboard with an announcement of an upcoming football match; some might not - like a football, with which this match is played. Some actions are inherently linguistic, such as a radio broadcast of the football game; some are not - such as an act of kicking the ball. The same is true to the symbols, values, feelings, etc.

However, when all of the aforementioned elements become engaged or used by people to define themselves (e.g. to construct and negotiate their belonging across national and cultural borders), to invoke a particular category, to organise, to instruct or to enact a particular practice (e.g. practices involved in transnational networking) - which is exactly what my research is concerned with, then these elements become assigned a linguistic aspect, either because they become represented (referred to or dismissed, included or excluded, defined or ignored, described or reproduced, etc.) or because they become enacted (used by the actors in action and in interaction). This means that if we

trace, examine and discuss the ways in which these representations and actions take place – i.e. what technologies, forms of modality, semiotic resources are used, what physical and social places are engaged, what acts are involved, what competences are required and how it all is accomplished, repeated, avoided, changed, etc. - which is exactly what the term discourse signifies, then we can also make visible those, materialities, discursivities, ideational means and actions that are involved in the production and stabilising, disrupting and rearranging of social practices and categories. In its turn, this would allow us to create this absolutely crucial analytical link between the aspect of social realities in focus (in the case of my investigation - transnational networking), the agency engaged in the construction and reformulation of these realities (people, their banal actions and everyday practices and the sites across, which they take place) and those meanings, cultural and semiotic resources, objects, technologies, etc., which are used in this construction. It is by repeated, two-way exploration of this analytical channel created by the concept of discourse that we can map out, unpack and discuss the politics and pedagogy of those aspects of contemporary social realities that we are concerned with, as well as their role in shaping of actors identities and its political and cultural impacts on the society. It is this analytical work that I am engaged in within the limits of my project. Later in the chapter, I shall account for how I carry out this work.

What I have established within the framework of this chapter so far is that that the making of social realities and meaning-making in relation to these realities as well as in relation to negotiation of actors' memberships within and across them is not the matter of beings but the matter of doings (Iedema, 2003, p. 67). That is - neither out-there-ness nor human identities are the contexts on which, or in the case of transnational living - between which, people organise their lives but rather practices through which they accomplish this organizing. Further, I have proposed that the aforementioned doings, although complex and spatially and temporally dynamic, are not random and inaccessible but are accomplished by the actors in a way that is "noticeable, re-cognisable and accountable" (Garfinkel, 1967, as cited in Iedema, 2003, p. 67), – i.e. that there are methods to these doings. Finally, I have stated that within the framework of my project, I examine these methods by focusing on the discursive practices. This is possible because these practices become mobilised in the construction of any category and in the enactment of any aspect of social realities, whether linguistic or not, by representing them, by enabling the actors to orient towards them and by organising them - what Halliday describes as *meta-functionality* of discourse (1978, 1994 as cited in Iedema, 2003, p. 58) and what Fairclough refers to as discourse *dialectics* (2003).

The latter entails that what I am looking at analytically is discourse - discourse, viewed not merely as language and not even as language-in-use but as language *in-use-in-interaction* with other elements of social realities, which are not necessarily linguistic. That is - I am examining not just the semiotic complexity of practices that assemble and represent transnational networking - their *multimodality*, but, first and foremost, the origin, “dynamic emergence” and continuous transformations of those productions and representations “from context to context, from practice to practice, or from one stage of practice to the next” – their *resemiotization* (Iedema, 2001, pp. 40, 41). In addition, I am investigating what material, ideational and discursive means are put into use (and how) to carry out and alter the actions that enable, stabilise and sustain the practices in focus – their *mediation* (Scollon, 2001; Prior & Hengst, 2010). This means that I am examining transnational networking by tracing, documenting, inquiring into and discussing the construction of discourses from *social-semiotic perspective*.

By mobilising within the methodological framework, which I am building up in this chapter, the concept of discourse as *semiosis* – “the link between language and other kinds of meaning making” – I am grasping the variety of modalities and semiotic fields involved in the production and formulation of connecting, through which transnational networking becomes assembled and which I follow to carry out the ethnography of this practice. By weaving these semiotic accounts of discourse with the accounts of “particular social acts, in particular contexts of situation” Lemke, 1985a as cited in Iedema, 2003, p. 66), what Fairclough describes as *events* (Fairclough, 2003), I make visible and unpack how the aforementioned practices mediate transnational living and the construction of identities across and beyond national categories. Moreover, I account for the ways in which, through multiple resemiotizations, seemingly dispersed discursive and non-discursive events come to shape “increasingly exomatic, mechanical and therefore context-like realities” (Latour, 1993, 1996, as cited in Iedema, 2001, p. 42), which in Norman Fairclough’s terms might be referred to as *social structures* (Fairclough, 2003).

#### IV. TRACKING MEANING-MAKING: MULTIMODAL, SOCIO-SEMIOTIC, DISCOURSE APPROACH TO ANALYSING SOCIAL INTERACTION

Thus, to make the methods that underpin transnational networking tangible, I make visible and available for analysis the intersemiotic connecting that mediates practices and which participates in

the construction and reconstruction of the discourses that represent, orient or organize these practices. To trace the aforementioned semiotic shifts and discursive transformations – i.e. traversing of meanings, symbols, artefacts, etc. across modalities, interactional sites and practices, I map out and address the ways in which particular discursive elements (categories, symbols, meanings, narratives, etc.) become invoked in actors' interaction in relation to each other. That is, I demonstrate what technologies and forms of media are used, what interactional mechanisms and regimes are followed or disrupted, what sequences and patterns are drawn and what competences are applied in the construction of discourses across diverse semiotic fields. Thus, what I am doing is writing the topography of making the “difference that makes a difference” (Bateson, 1973, as cited in Iedema, 2001, p. 42) of making semiotically and discursively diverse events that participate in assembling transnational networking meaningful by examining the ways in which they relate, complement or disrupt each other in actors' interaction.

What this implies methodologically is that within the framework of my research both collecting data (finding, gaining access to and registering the relevant material) and analysing data (unpacking and making sense of categories, meanings, actions, etc.) first and foremost involves looking for and documenting what is meaningful to the actors (what is made significant, noticed, recognised and accounted by them in interaction) by examining how it is made meaningful, i.e. by examining “the machinery” (Sacks, 1992) of it. This means that whenever a specific category or an account is made relevant by the members, in order to retrieve the meanings assigned to them, I inspect how the members discriminate them from the other categories and accounts. There are two general methodological strategies, through which I accomplish that.

First of all, I attend to the semiotic complexity of the category or account in focus. This means that instead of seeing classes, categories or experiences that the actors refer to and react on as a ‘whole’, as a complete, accomplished and closed totality of knowledge that is being shared, ignored, rejected, excluded, etc., I trace and make visible what element/s of this knowledge: discursive inscription (label, name, description, etc.), material form, visual presentation (package, colour, image, etc.), sensory perception (taste, smell) and so on are being shared, ignored, rejected or excluded. Secondly, I do it by following and unpacking this process within and across multiple interactional events, consequently within and across multiple modalities, semiotic fields and forms of media. Below I shall account for how the aforementioned strategies are realised in relation to these diverse semiotic regimes.

I shall begin with an interactional activity such as *talk* and an interactional event produced through this activity – a *conversation*. To track the meaning making practices as they unfold within and across conversations, I examine “the rules of conversational sequence” (Sacks, 1992, p. 4) – they ways conversational exchange is originated, performed and closed. The analytical focus is on how particular categories and accounts are made relevant by the members – i.e. how a particular conversational *topic* is initiated, what possibilities for response this initiation sets up and what expectations with regard to participants’ competences and knowledges it carries. Next, I look at the participants’ response to this initiation – i.e. what conversational devices: rejection, ascription, request, invitation, re-assignment and confirmation, etc. participants’ employ in the turn-taking, through which the conversation is organised. Finally, I also focus on the ways participants’ signal the completion of the conversational round – i.e. what competences and shared knowledge are required to produce and decode these signals.

What should be emphasised is that the aforementioned “procedural rules” (Sacks, 1992, p. 4), which underpin conversational sequences are to a high degree shaped by the mode through which conversations are performed as well as semiotic resources and the type of “supportive or enabling technology” (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 2) employed in this process. For instance, co-present conversational events are carried out through the medium of spoken language (oral mode) as well as through gestures, gazes, facial expressions, signs (visual mode). Semiotic resources employed in the production of such conversations include vocal apparatus, physical actions and materialities that the actors use to enact a specific interactional event and that shape its setting. Thus, in order to address the rules of conversational exchange on the points outlined above, I focus on the ways these rules become realized through the semiotic resources afforded by those modalities and forms of media, which are involved in the production of each specific interactional event.

In the case of face-to-face conversation, what I, hence, pay attention to are such elements of oral and visual semiotic repertoires as prosody, pitch, tone, distribution of pauses and conversational pairs, usage of objects, etc. However, it is imperative to emphasise that in relation to tracking the actors’ use of the aforementioned elements of conversational organisation, it is not their nominal, absolute value that is my concern. I am not interested in the exact length of each pause or the exact measurements of tone fluctuation in annunciation of each word. Instead, I am concerned with their *relative value* – i.e. how the uses of a particular semiotic resource stand out in relation to each other within the same interactional event (this will also be discussed in Chapter 5 of the thesis). I am

interested in discriminating between the ways in which the actors realise particular conversational devices in relation to particular conversational topics (categories, accounts) in order to discriminate between various meanings assigned to these categories and accounts – i.e. between the way they are “classed” (Sacks, 1992, p. 21) or represented by the participants within the framework of a specific conversation.

Technology-mediated interaction operates with different semiotic repertoires. These repertoires are very much dependant on the type of technological medium employed in enacting the interaction: telephone, computer, internet, etc. as well as on the interactional mode through which the interaction is carried out: e-mail, chat, forum, SMS texting, MMS, etc. This variety of digital media and semiotic means, on which technology-mediated communication rely, inevitably leads to the variety of machineries (rules of conversational exchange) through which CMC events become organised. However, what despite of all the aforementioned differences, technology-mediated forms of interaction share and what distinguishes them from co-present interactional events – is the fact that they are necessarily dispersed in space and in time. This spatial and temporal scattering has powerful effects on conversational organisation. It inevitably shapes digitally-mediated language and language use by disrupting and reshaping turn-taking patterns (Herring, 2008, p. 2). Thus, many elements of conversational exchange significant to the machinery of co-present interaction (such as pauses, overlaps, conversational paring) either acquire a different meaning in technology-mediated settings or become irrelevant. For instance, overlaps and pauses, in the case of face-to-face communication, represent meaningful disruptions of conversational sequences that the participants employ to perform a particular action: to confirm, to re-enforce, to ascribe to a particular account. Whereas in CMC contexts, they might figure as regularity rather than disruption, as a result of time-delays inherent to the asynchronous CMC systems (such as SMS and e-mail) or multi-sequential character of the synchronous CMC mode (such as discussion forum, chat room, instant messaging, etc.). On the other hand, while the aforementioned “features of specific technologies predispose users to communicate in certain ways [...] users may override those predispositions” (Herring, 2008, p. 2).

This complexity and relative character of CMC organisation becomes particularly visible in those interactional events, which are carried out by means of *hypermedia*: computer-mediated interaction powered by Internet (such as chats, discussion forums and websites). *Hypermodal* interactional events are enabled by multiple, potential and explicit interconnections (*links*) between word-,

image-, and sound-based semiotic artefacts, which organise meaning construction practices as complex networks or webs (Lemke, 2002, p. 300). This means each on-line, computer-mediated interactional event is made by numerous, multi-sequential, intersecting trajectories or *traversals* (Lemke, 2002, p. 300) along which participants employ the aforementioned immense potential for semiotic and discursive interconnectivity afforded by hypermedia. It is, therefore, by making visible and examining these traversals that I map out and discuss the webs of meaning and networks of meaning construction practices, which takes place within the framework of computer-mediated interaction.

I accomplish that by paying attention to two aspects of the actors' traversing: multimodality – forming of linkages between various semiotic signifiers of textual, visual and audial modes, and hypertextuality – forming of linkages between various interactional and textual units (Lemke, 2002, p. 301). To do that, I examine those “organizational devices” that the actors employ within the framework of a particular interactional context to cut across “the modal divide between text and image” (Lemke, 2002, p. 301) as well as across spatial and temporal divides between multiple conversational lines and interactional events. Such organizational devices include:




- *Hyperlinks* that embed into what already is multi-sequential conversational exchange interconnection to the other interactional sequences, events and sites opening a particular conversational event to potentially inexhaustible multiplicity of meaning construction trajectories.
- Citations that allow the actors to form and that allow me to trace conversational pairs and sequences.
- Layout, e.g. proximity, framing and positioning of various textual, graphic, iconic and other units of visual and verbal semantic content in relation to each other, which mediate the way they are combined or juxtaposed, anchored or discriminated by the participants in the production and assigning of meaning to a particular conversational topic, category or account.
- Search engines, discussion topics indexes and other navigational devices that support actors' mobility around a particular interactional site.

In addition to tracking participants' use of the aforementioned devices as a way of examining the organisation of conversational events on-line, I am also inspecting the semantic contents across



which the network of meanings are being constructed within and between these events. Just as in the case of co-present interaction, what I am interested in investigating in relation to computer-mediated interactional practices, in which the actors engage, is how in the course of these practices particular relations, circumstances, processes symbols and artefacts are made meaningful – i.e. relevant to the conversational topic, recognisable and accountable. Clearly, semiotic means, through which it is being accomplished in the interactional contexts supported by hypermedia, are different from the ones enacted in face-to-face interaction.

One of the semiotic resources, on which computer-mediated interaction relies, is written text. Since the emergence of Internet technology, appropriated by and recontextualized within the framework of computer-mediated communication, this hardly novel mode of interaction came to acquire organisational conventions and require competences that are noticeably different from the ones employed in the production of written texts through the conventional forms of media: books, newspapers and the like. These conventions include, for instance, systematic and normalised deviations from the established grammatical and orthographical rules standard to the use of written language in traditional forms of media. Some of these departures from linguistic norms as well as the usage of abbreviations (“LOL”, “IMHO”<sup>2</sup>), semiotic metaphors (“+1”, “+1000”<sup>3</sup>) and of orthographic devices (such as use of capitalization to signify high pitch range and rising tone that in talk mediate shouting) are the elements of what is rapidly stabilising as Internet jargon recognised and routinized across diverse technology-mediated and linguistic settings. Other rules of conversational exchange are specific to a particular interactional site (forum, chat, etc.) introduced, negotiated and re-negotiated by the actors in the course of their interaction within this site. To examine how the actors are shaping and using these rules and, ultimately, how in the course of that meanings are being formulated and categories are being constructed, I examine the ways in which the participants employ semiotic resources available through the mode of written text in collaboration with visual semiotic resources to “prompt” (Kress, 2010, p. 35) a particular response or/and to respond to the previous prompt. That is - I investigate how the actors use semiotic resources such as orthography, punctuation, abbreviation, semiotic metaphors, etc. together with

graphic (e.g. “☺”, static (e.g. ) and animated (e.g.  | ) emoticons, static and animated avatars, icons, usage of colours, etc. to engage each others’ attention in relation to a

<sup>2</sup> LOL – “Laughing Out Loud” ; IMHO – “In My Humble Opinion”

<sup>3</sup> “+1” signifies agreeing with the cited comment; “+1000” signifies emphasized agreeing with the cited comment



particular account or category, to enact the engagement or the “refusal to engage” (Kress, 2010, p. 36). By inspecting these rules of engagement – i.e. by making visible *how* the response is prompted and the prompts are responded, I am able to make visible *what* is prompted: to what and for what categories and accounts participants draw or show their attention through the construction of a specific “sign-complexes” (Kress, 2010, p. 35).

Thus, by giving a social semiotic account of the multiple interactional events that take place across diverse social and semiotic sites of actors’ engagement I track and map out those orderings – “semiotic arrangements” (Kress, 2010, p. 116), their shaping and their use – through which particular inscriptions (ideational and material) become classed and named, i.e. how they become categorized and represented.

What is imperative to emphasize at this point is that the representational meta-function of discursive practices, to which I attend through the methodological strategies described above, does not merely involve construction, classifying and representing of meanings, i.e. shaping those knowledges, which make the realities recognizable, tangible and context-like. In representing the realities the actors also and necessarily position themselves in relation to these realities as well as in relation to those knowledges that make them recognizable, to the meanings that make up these knowledges and to the categories and accounts through which these meanings are constructed. Thus, the acts of representing as a way of exercising “control over things” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 28) through the construction of categories, i.e. “lists of items that persons know in common” (Sacks, 1992, p. 23), go hand in hand with the acts of orienting towards what is represented. The latter, orientational, meta-function of discursive practices implicates positioning of oneself– *identification* (Fairclough, 2003, p. 28) and positioning of the others – *action* (Fairclough, 2003, p. 28) in relation to the represented category or account and, thereby, just as representing realities, is to do with “control over things, “action on the other” and power (Fairclough, 2003, p. 28).

By examining discursive mechanisms through which the aforementioned acts of orienting take place, I am able to make visible and discuss how the actors attribute themselves and become attributed, how they ascribe each other and resist the ascription to particular categories – i.e. the construction and reconstruction of memberships across multiple lists of references, which underpins transnational belonging that my project is concerned with. Moreover, I am able to trace and examine how the aforementioned acts of identification or/and disidentification, in which the actors engage in the course of their interaction, participate in organizing the parts of realities (knowledges,

sites, practices) located by the categories and accounts that the actors mobilize to accomplish these acts.

I carry out this examination by focusing on the “extremely basic and extremely generic social control devices” (Sacks, 1992, p. 42) – on the apparatus of *membership categorization* (Sacks, 1992). The aforementioned apparatus absorbs the rules through which memberships and identity categories become generated and the rules through which they become applied in actors’ descriptions (Silverman, 1998). What this entails is that the apparatus, on which I place my analytical focus, “is entirely a member’s apparatus. It means that it exists not as another social science concept but only in and through the way in which it demonstrably used by lay members” (Silverman, 1998, p. 86). Hence, by making the investigation of mechanisms actuated within the aforementioned apparatus one of the methodological strategies, through which I explore transnational networking practices and construction of belongingness mediated by it, I organize my research practices in line with the previously established criteria for scientific knowing as revealing and not tailoring “the members’ methods that are being used to create social order” (Rawls, 2002).

What membership categorization analysis (MCA) is about and what makes its examination imperative to my research is that “vast amount of stuff” (Sacks, 1992, p. 41) handled by the members is handled by them through allocating of this stuff to particular categories. What this entails is that as the actors proceed with the mundane, every day practices and interactional encounters, they discursively grasp diverse aspects of realities and of reality making relevant to those sites and situations within and across which those practices and interactions unfold (such as transnational networking, which I am interested in within the framework of my research) through referring to and invoking of particular categories with which these realities are or can be associated. This invoking is accomplished through bringing into the interaction and making relevant particular category-bound features (Sacks, 1992): activities, descriptions, experiences, etc, whose association with particular categories represents a part of the common knowledge sharing which serves as the marker of belongingness to these categories. It is through negotiation of this common knowledge – i.e. through challenging and correcting, confirming and disavowing the associations proposed in the interaction and through resisting, ascribing and re-ascribing to the associations - that the memberships are being constructed and reconstructed.

This means that tracing and unpacking these webs of associations between particular aspects of realities, categories to which they become discursively designated, category-bound features through

which these categories become implicitly made relevant in interaction and actions which the participants accomplish in relation to these features, enables me to demonstrate “how it is that something that’s done is recognized for what it is” (Sacks, 1992, p. 236). As well as this, it enables me to show and discuss how by recognizing particular doings and orienting themselves towards these doings in particular ways the actors construct and negotiate their identities across multiple categories, thereby actuating and shaping those aspects of realities (such as transnational mobility) with which these categories are associated. The methodological strategy through, which I carry out such tracing, consists in mapping out the ways in which the categories become set up and used across multiple conversational events. This strategy is realized:

- by focusing on the naming and referencing mechanisms: such as the usage of *pro-forms* or *pro-terms* (Sacks, 1992, p. 342) – pronouns and pro-verbs that are used in place of particular classed accounts, objects, attributes, etc. and that carry indication of the participants’ positioning in relation to these classes;
- by tracking across multiple interactional encounters category-bound features (discursive descriptions, objects, symbols, etc.) that the actors employ to evoke an association to a particular category;
- by making visible how the aforementioned features become introduced and what type of action this introduction enacts and invites (initiation of correction, ascription, etc.);
- by mapping out in the conversational sequence the actions generated in response to making relevant of a particular category-bound feature (repair, re-ascription, avowing, etc.).

The set of methodological moves delineated above allows me to demonstrate how those practices, in which the actors engage in the course of their daily lives and which mediate transnational networking, become constructed, represented and made recognizable through categorizational work and how in the course of this work the actors position themselves and each other in relation to diverse categories associated with diverse aspects of transnational living and how in doing so they negotiate and re-negotiate their identities across and beyond these categories. What I address next is how this categorizational work (the representation of and orientation to particular aspects of otherness and those resemiotizational mechanisms that enable it) is sustained by the multiplicity of discourses, which become woven together, recontextualised and embedded within each other as the actors bring them into the diverse interactional events to construct, support and frame particular associations. That is – I examine how categorizational work is involved in arranging and organizing

discourses and, thereby, in arranging and organizing those aspects of realities and those practices, i.e. ways of acting, representing and being (Fairclough, 2003, p. 26), which become invoked by being included into or excluded from “linguistic variability” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 26) made available within these discourses. This means that in order to investigate how transnational networking is organized and sustained I attend to the organizational meta-function of discursive practices in which the actors engage in the course of their interaction across diverse semiotic and social sites.

As has been repeatedly emphasized previously in this thesis, transnationality, or rather the preferred within the framework of my research term ‘transnational mobility’ (as the term much more accurately reflecting the complexity and dynamics of transnational living), is not a context or a scale, within which or on which the actors lead their lives and which determines their identities. Rather this concept refers to intensive, complex and constantly shifting forms of connecting, which are rapidly and often dramatically rearranging the relations between diverse social, political and cultural sites of human engagement in a way that cuts across and transgresses national, local, ethnic, regional, diasporic, etc. borders. It is this connecting and the practices mediating this connecting that I describe as transnational networking. As I have stated earlier in this chapter, I am interested in how transnational mobility - and thereby the transnational networking that enables it - is constructed, regulated and instructed, i.e. I am concerned with both politics and pedagogy of transnational living as one of those social realities that shape out-there-ness. Discourse, as it is made clear in this chapter, represents one of the central conceptual tools with which I approach examining the construction and instruction of transnational networking; it refers to particular ways of representing, acting and relating towards particular aspects of realities. What this entails is that when the linkages between these diverse aspects of realities: social practices, sites of people’s engagement, institutions, etc., become rearranged it necessarily becomes mediated (i.e. both executed and represented) through discursive practices. This means that the connecting, which enables transnational networking and which my research is concerned with, is enabled and represented by discursive connecting.

Therefore, it is the discursive connecting, which the actors produce in the course of their daily interactions, is what I am focusing on in order to investigate how transnational networking is managed and sustained. To map out and unpack this connecting, I examine how, while carrying out categorical work addressed above, the actors represent, construct and categorize *some* parts of the

world by bringing into the interactional events and making relevant *other* parts of the world linking various discursive perspectives and *recontextualizing* (Bernstein 1990, as cited in Fairclough, 2003, p. 33) them within each other – i.e. I trace and address *interdiscursive hybridity* (Fairclough, 2003, p. 35). Moreover, I make visible and discuss how this discursive and interdiscursive connecting takes place across numerous interactional events and how in the course of this connecting the actors do not merely mix and chain multiple discursive repertoires but produce new ways of representing, enacting and orienting to particular aspects of realities (such as transnational mobility). I propose the term transdiscursivity to describe such acts of discourse production, through which the actors do not only represent and organize particular aspects of realities, both discursive and non-discursive, but also produce and control them, i.e. *govern* those realities.

## V. ORGANIZING THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF PRACTICE

So far in this chapter, I have outlined and substantiated those metatheoretical and metaphysical premises on the basis of which I organize and carry out my research practices. I have also delineated a conceptual and methodological apparatus, with which I approach the examination of transnational mobility and transnational networking that enables it. This apparatus positions the empirical and analytical aspects of my research work as an ethnography of practice that is carried out from the socio-semiotic perspective and that focuses on the discursive practices through which the actors represent, relate to and organize transnational networking. This entails that the empirical and analytical focus of my project lies with social interaction. By *interaction* here I mean “the ways in which people engage each other in communication” (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 4), “supportive or enabling technology” (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 2) that sustains this communication and interdiscursive and transdiscursive connecting that takes place within this communication and across social events and physical and semiotic sites of actors’ engagement. What I shall, thus, do further in this chapter is account for the methodological strategies through which I find, gain access to and capture such multimodal, semiotically and physically dispersed interaction as well as explain how I do it in a way that is in sympathy with the ontological and epistemological criteria established earlier.

## V.1. Establishing Research Criteria

As David Silverman (1998) points out, the standard research driven by quantitative social scientists as well as by “their qualitative brethren” is preoccupied with *representativeness* as the main criteria for data collection (p. 70). Conventionally this criteria becomes realized through the collection of random samples from particular human or/and material collectives subsequently attacked “by virtue of some problem” (Sacks, 1992, p. 292) and inspected statistically or/and qualitatively for the range and distribution of the problem that researcher has in mind. Such research driven by defensiveness about the representativeness of the cases studied combined with fascination with controversies sets off “a search for exceptions or variation” (Silverman, 1998, p. 71). This search brings the problem into data and counts the range of places where it occurs instead of locating a version of this problem in data and trying to come up with the explanation for what occurs, for how it occurs and why it occurs there (Sacks, 1992). Following into the steps of the aforementioned approach to data collection would clearly defy those criteria for viewing and knowing the social that I have set up for my research earlier in this chapter and that position my research practice as “mapping the many contradictory ways in which social aggregates are constantly evoked, erased, distributed, and reallocated” rather than defining “in advance, and *in place* of the actors [...] what sorts of building blocks the social world is made of” (Latour, 2005, p. 41).

Therefore, I begin strategizing the process and practice of data collection based on quite a different premise – on the conviction in pervasiveness and omnipresence of the social forms and of the machinery that mediates them (Silverman, 1998, p. 70; Sacks, 1987, p.56, as cited in Silverman, 1998, p. 71). What this implies is that, following inferences made by such theorists as Harvey Sacks (1992), Harold Garfinkel (2002), Bruno Latour (2005), David Silverman (1998), etc., I believe, firstly, that you cannot tell right off whether and in what ways something is important (Sacks, 1992, p. 28) and, secondly, that “if something matters it should be observable” (Silverman, 2007, p. 29). This means that although we cannot know prior to the analysis whether what we are looking at is in any way interesting with regard to the problem that we have in mind, “things are so arranged” that we *could* know the problem regardless of what we are looking at because the members know the problem and because things are so arranged as to permit them to know it and to account for it (Sacks, 1992, p. 485). This “omnipresence and ready observability” (Sacks, 1987, p.56, as cited in Silverman, 1998, p. 71) of realities entails that looking for the problems, controversies and the

remarkable, which we expect to be inherent to “a particular sector of the world” (Silverman, 1998, p. 71) might not ever get us to knowing this sector. On the contrary, by focusing on the most mundane occurrences we might begin to pick up things that “are so overwhelmingly true” (Silverman, 1998, p. 71) to the aspect of reality we are concerned with that we might demonstrate or/and find some explanation for the “problems we know exist in the field”. Moreover, these mundane occurrences might trigger other considerations, through which we can address a set of problems we were not aware of or a set of problems that we did not initially suspect to be linked to the sector of the world we are interested in (Sacks, 1992, pp. 292, 293, 570 ).

What this means in concrete terms for my research and for the development of the methodological strategy to the collection of data, i.e. interactional events, on the basis of which this research is carried out, is that instead of looking for the remarkable events I am making visible the remarkable in the mundane events (Silverman, 2007, p. 16). That is, instead of starting out a data search and data collection guided by the concerns for its representativeness, I am striving for *generalizability* as one of the central research criteria. These criterion implies that prior to the analysis I did not try to detect the interactional events that have something to do with the matters of transnational mobility by spotting and singling out in the actors’ practices those moments which involve what is commonly seen as problematic, deviant or remarkable in transnational living. Nor did I spend the subsequent analysis in trying to prove that whatever took place within the framework of these events was in fact transnational and in determining how much it had in common with all the other supposedly transnational events. Instead, I began the process of data collection by virtue of transnational mobility being as pervasive as any other aspect of social reality, meaning that it is not condensed in some secluded social places and engagements but is disseminated throughout the social. Hence, those matters of it that matter are observable in the most banal of the members’ practices, regardless of whether these practices visibly involve nationality-bound categories or not. Therefore, if studied carefully (in the case of my research this means following the methodological strategies developed earlier in this chapter) the inferences made on the basis of such banal material are generalizable to other interactional encounters, acts and actions, those that I have not come across, fail to notice, did not manage to access or register, etc. because, as opposed to transnational mobility, research and a researcher are neither pervasive not omnipresent.

In this sense my approach to data collection is very much in line with “many contemporary qualitative researchers (such as Mitchell 1983; Silverman 1993a)”, who as “Sacks argued that the



validity of a piece of research did not depend on how a data-set was selected but on the, theoretically derived, quality of the analysis” (Silverman, 1998, pp. 70,71). It is crucial to stress, however, that the above statement does not mean that the way data is collected within the framework of my project is irrelevant. As to achieve the quality of analysis that would make it *valid*, which, as stated earlier, in relation to my research means generalizable, the data, on the basis of which I carry out the analytical work, has to enable me to accomplish those theoretically-derived empirical and analytical moves that are stressed in the quotation above and that I have developed in this chapter. This theoretical-methodological approach, which frames the process of my data collection, is organized around two central concepts: the concept of discourse as the ways “things are talked about [...] by which our worlds are constructed, legitimated, ratified, contested” (Scollon, 2001, p. 9), and the concept of resemiotization as an on-going shifting between semiotic fields, forms of media and technologies, which enables the aforementioned discursive practices.

This entails that within the framework of my project, the data collection process is carried out so that I can follow the aforementioned semiotic and discursive networking. That is instead of striving to generate data corpus “obsessively narrowed to single moments, speech acts or events, or participants” I aimed at capturing “how these connect to other moments, acts, events, and participants” (Scollon, 2001, p. 9). Moreover, my data-collecting practices is carried out so that I can grasp the acts of inter- and transdiscursivity, which, as argued earlier in this chapter, is what mediates organisation and production of discourses and, thereby, organisation and production of realities, which the actors represent, categorize and relate to through these discourses. That is I aimed at gathering data that would provide me with access to “the trajectories of participants, places, and situations” (Scollon, 2001, p. 9), along which interdiscursivity and transdiscursivity is being produced by the actors.

As I am making clear and substantiating these requirements for my research data it becomes obvious that its collection had to include a strong analytical aspect. This is characteristic of the qualitative research tradition, within which my project lies, and which generally does not presuppose that finding or “manufacturing” (Silverman, 2007) data is accomplished before the analysis. This implies that data collection process, i.e. locating, following and registering of the placial, social, discursive and semiotic traversals as they become made and made meaningful by the actors, was carried out through doing the actual analytical work in accordance with the methodological strategies developed earlier in this chapter. Thus, rather than structuring my

research sequentially, I organised it as a hermeneutic cycle - as a repeated and ongoing movement between, intersecting and incorporated within each other, theoretical, methodological, empirical and analytical frames of investigation. By assuming such an approach to data collection and analysis I approached the complexity of transnational networking through the networking of complex theoretical, methodological, empirical and analytical strategies, thereby studying the social complexity from the perspective of complexity and studying the members' methods underpinning the social complexity by following these methods. In doing so, I meet the demands that I emphasized earlier regarding viewing and knowing the social, based on the argument that linear and coherent methods of describing and understanding the social cannot be applied when what is to be understood and described is itself neither linear nor coherent (such as transnational networking) and that "it is not a sociologist's duty to decide in advance and in the member's stead what the social world is made of" (Latour, 2005, p. 29) and where it is located.

## V.2. Engaging the Nexus of Practice

I realized the aforementioned approach to data collection by applying methodological tools and strategies provided by Nexus Analysis (NA). Developed by Ron and Suzie Scollon (Scollon, 2001; Scollon & Scollon, 2004), this ethnographic approach is specifically concerned with enabling the researcher "to get the perspective" on the social practice as "a single, recognizable, repeatable action" by mapping and examining its "origins in the past, its direction in the future" and its "cycles of engagement with others near and far" (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, pp. 11, 12, 13). What makes this particular methodology highly apt for organising the ethnography of transnational practices, which I am writing within the framework of my research, is that much like my own research, NA is anchored in the belief that "the broader social issues are ultimately grounded in the micro-actions of social interaction and, conversely, the most mundane of micro-actions are a nexus through which the largest cycles of social organization and activity circulate" (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 8). Thereby, nexus analysis represents an ethnographic strategy built upon two theoretical presuppositions, which are also central to my research: firstly, that social matters are pervasive, omnipresent and hence observable in the mundane acts and activities of the members. Secondly, that discourses circulate through these acts and activities by representing, sustaining and reshaping interpersonal, organizational and institutional frames of the social. Moreover, one of the central claims of NA maintains that "any action is inherently social – it is only action to the extent it is

perceived by others as action” and that any action is necessarily *mediated* – i.e. “carried out via material and symbolic mediational means” (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 12). Hence, nexus analysis supports examinations of social practices as an ethnography of the ways in which the actors employ semiotic, technological, discursive and cultural resources to recognize and make recognizable and repeatable “simple observable actions” (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 10) of which the practices are made up and through which they are organized.

What NA does is that it provides researchers interested in the investigation of particular aspects of the social realities from the conceptual and analytical perspective, grounded in the claims about the role of social and discursive practices in the making of these realities stressed above, with the ways to strategize and carry out locating, accessing, mapping out and unpacking the so-called *nexus of practice*. That is the “point at which historical trajectories of people, places, discourses, ideas, and objects come together to enable some action which in itself alters those historical trajectories in some way as those trajectories emanate from this moment of social action” (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 159). What this means is that if the methodological tools for examining conversational organization, categorical work, resemiotization, interdiscursive chains and transdiscursivity which I described earlier in this chapter enabled me to carry out social semiotic and discourse analysis of practices that mediate transnational networking, NA afforded me the tools for organizing and carrying out the ethnography of these practices. That is, I used the methods and guidelines offered by this perspective to organize the fieldwork through which I accessed and registered those sites and *interaction orders* (the relations and relationships of people (Scollon & Scollon, 2004)), materialities and discursivities, accounts and encounters, which form the nexus of transnational networking practices. Moreover, I used methodological strategies provided by NA to organize the earlier-addressed hermeneutic movement between empirical and analytical frames of my research work that enabled me to follow and map the connecting through which this nexus is shaped and sustained.

Much in sympathy with Nexus Analysis, I believe that both discovering “the social actions and social actors which are crucial in the production of social issue” (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 153) and expanding the circumference of the analysis to take in “broader discourses in which the action operates” (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 11) as well as “anticipations and emanations, links and transformations” (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 160) implicated in and produced by this operation can only be done by taking “the engaged stance” (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 9). That is – it can

only be done by becoming involved and staying involved with “mediated actions that are relevant to the social issue under study” (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 152).

Much in sympathy with Nexus Analysis, I believe that whilst, conceptually, the aforementioned tasks may be separate or separable, in practice, keeping them apart is pointless and even counterproductive (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 160). Therefore, when, in the coming section, I come to describing the heuristic ways through which I used some of the methodological and conceptual tools suggested by NA to carry out these tasks of *engaging* and *navigating* (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 160) the nexus of practice mediating transnational networking, this description should not be taken as a sequentially or/and hierarchically arranged list of my research activities. Instead, it should be seen as a short account of the empirical and analytical actions, which I have undertaken in the process of ethnographic fieldwork to discover, access and register orders, events and sites of interaction as well as semiotic and discursive traversals formed across them, which constitute my analytical data. This data as well as the empirical work sketched below, will be described and discussed further and in detail in the next chapter of my thesis.

Following Scollon & Scollon’s fieldguide for Nexus Analysis (2004), I have become engaged with the nexus of practice in focus, i.e. identified the participants involved in producing of the actions forming the nexus, interaction orders and sites in which the production takes place and discourses that enable it, through a number of research activities aiming at:

- finding the crucial social actors;
- observing interaction order;
- determining the most significant cycles of discourse;
- and establishing my zone of identification with the nexus of practice in focus.

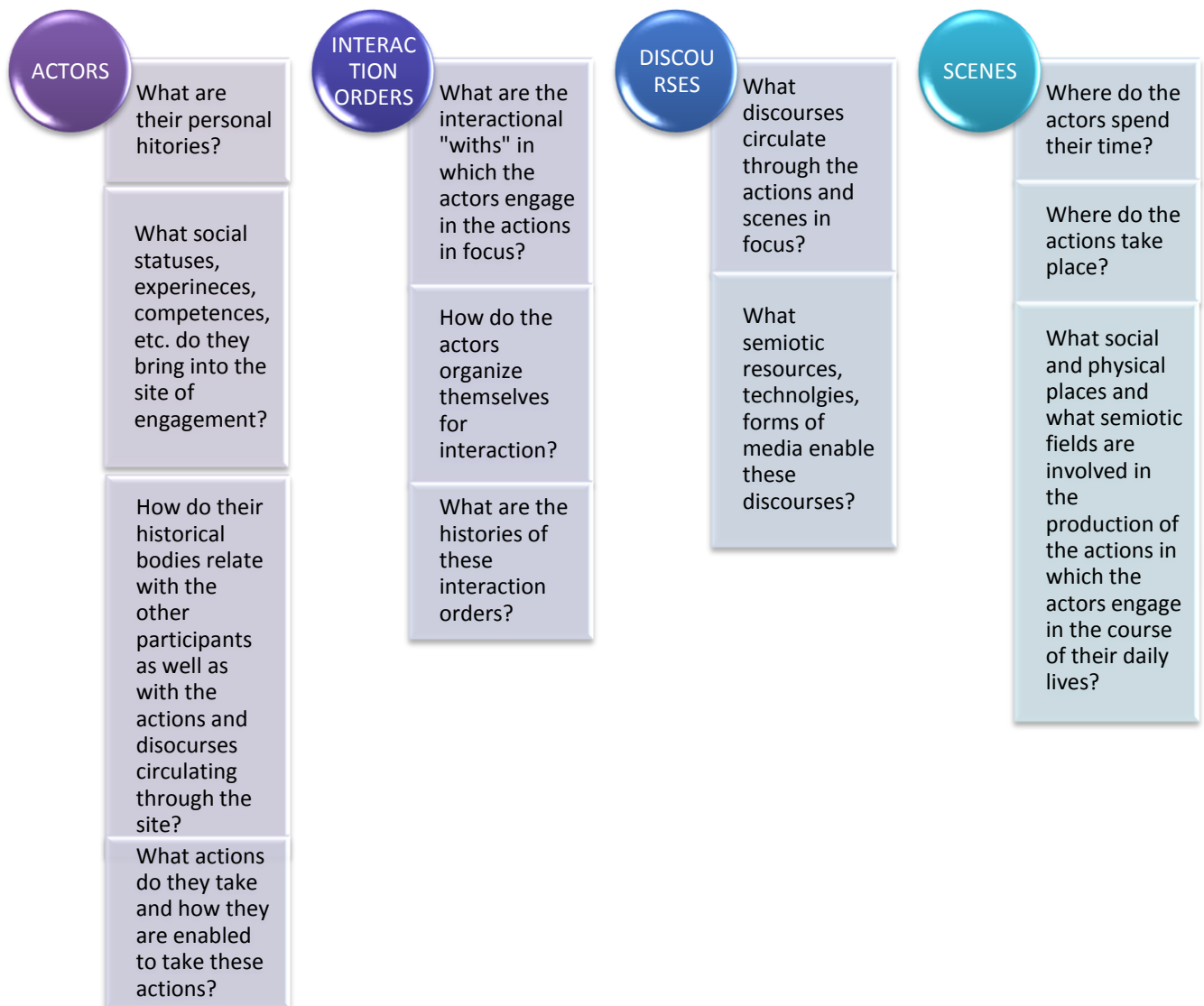
I began to carry out the aforementioned research tasks by looking at the way my own *historical body* (Scollon & Scollon, 2004)– personal history, social roles, actions, lifetime habits, values, etc. – related to the social matters with which my project is concerned. The goal was to determine those aspects of my social status, identity dimensions and competences, which I could use to connect with and gain an access to the interactional encounters that would serve as the nodes from which I would start to navigate the nexus of transnational networking practices or to determine those points in my historical body at which I might have already been connected to such nodes.

My goal was to recognize and become recognized within the *sites of engagement* (Scollon & Scollon, 2004) relevant to my investigation – particular moments, material and social spaces in which separate actions become networked and repeated to form particular practices and in which separate practices come together to enable particular actions – regardless of whether I found myself already somewhat involved with these sites or whether I had to initiate completely novel connections to them. In order to do that I merged my research activities with the participation in the activities that took place in the sites with which I wanted to establish my zone of identification. By doing so, I found myself “almost inevitably be drawn into closer participation” with the actors involved in these sites and in time succeeded in becoming their “full-fledged participant” (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 156). Such highly participatory ethnographic fieldwork clearly required time, commitment and genuine interest in the histories of people involved in the nexus in focus and those social arrangements that sustain this nexus, which could only be realized by virtue of the relating my own personal history and engagements to these new arrangements with which I sought to identify myself.

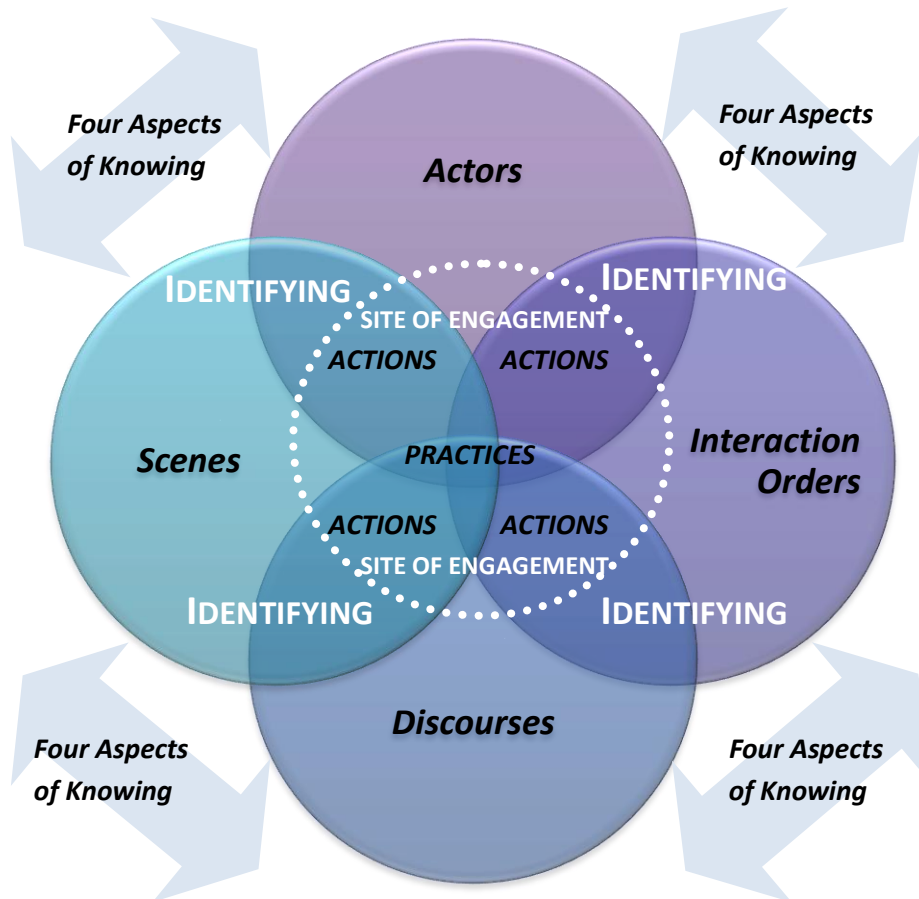
I carried out engaging the nexus of practice by focusing on the four central elements that form and sustain it: (1) the actors that produce the actions mediating the practices I am interested in; (2) interaction orders in which they participate in these actions; (3) places where the interaction happens and (4) discourses, which circulate through this interaction. In connection to this I have chosen to compose two diagrams presented below. These diagrams (see Figures 1 and 2) describe:

- what I was interested in knowing in relation to each of the aforementioned elements,
- how these four aspects of knowing are intertwined
- and how by organizing my fieldwork around these four knowledges and by following the connections between them I arrived at knowing the sites of engagement formed at and by the intersection of the aforementioned elements as well as at knowing the actions and practices, which took place within these sites.

**Figure 1: Engaging the Nexus of Practice: Four Aspects of Knowing in Identifying and Becoming Identified within the Sites of Actors' Engagement (Inspired by the "Practical Fieldguide for Nexus Analysis" (Scollon & Scollon, 2004))**



**Figure 2: Four Aspects of Knowing the Sites of Actors' Engagement in Conducting the Ethnography of Practice (Inspired by the "Practical Fieldguide for Nexus Analysis" (Scollon & Scollon, 2004))**



Thus, by organizing my ethnographic work around the four intertwined and overlapping aspects of knowing represented in the diagrams above, I was able not only to recognize the actors, places, interactions and discourses involved in the practices I am interested in but also to identify those placial and temporal moments (or sites) at which they intersect to produce the actions that enable and sustain these practices and across which I was navigating to map out and unpack the making of these practices. The aforementioned ethnographic work included a number of research activities such as observation and unstructured interviews.

As I was initiating and establishing the contact with the people involved in the nexus of practice in focus, identifying some of the social arrangements in which they engaged in the course of their daily lives and beginning to participate in these arrangements, I was at same time conducting



ethnographic observations focusing on the points of knowing, which I have outlined in Figure 1 above. I registered my observations by taking fieldnotes during the interaction, when the situation allowed it without interrupting interaction or disrupting my own participation in it, or immediately after my participation in the event in focus<sup>4</sup>.

Observations as well as unstructured interviews provided me with the “naturally occurring data” (Silverman, 2000, p. 8) crucial to my research, which seeks to examine members’ methods of making and enacting transnational networking as these methods are being produced and used. At the same time, the data collected via two aforementioned methods of ethnographic work allowed me not only to gain access to the four previously-discussed aspects of knowledge about the sites of actors’ engagement but also to triangulate this knowledge. This became possible because the data accessed and captured via observational and interviewing acts, organized in the manner described above, covered both:

- Members’ generalizations: those accounts that refer to what members say they or other participants do usually, typically or normally
- My own observation regarding what members are doing and how
- Individual experiences: those accounts that describe members’ actual experiences of doings (2004, p. 158)

By moving empirically and analytically between these diverse forms of data as well as between diverse ethnographic scenes, I was able to map out and address potential discrepancies or consistencies between and across my own observations and the actors’ descriptions. In doing so, I was able not only to discover and verify the circumstances and details of interactions and actions

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<sup>4</sup> I used a software programme EverNote to store and organize my observations. This database programme equipped with the advanced tagging, linking, categorizing, uploading and searching functions served within the framework of my research as an interactive form of a field journal supported by computer technology, which I used to store, manage and navigate through the data collected via my field observations as well as to network this data with the material gathered through the other ethnographic activities (such, as images, website snaps, audio recordings, etc.). By doing so, I was able to reproduce analytically and explore the intersemiotic connecting that the actors construct in the course of the everyday practice and that I seek to observe and examine.

that came into my view but also make visible and address the complexity and multiplicity of the realities revealed in the diversity of the accounts.

Along with the ethnographic activities described above, I was conducting video and audio recordings capturing interactional events in which the actors become engaged in the course of the encounters in which I participated. As I continued with these fieldwork activities, I was also analytically processing the data collected through these activities: video and audio recordings of the face-to-face conversations, photographs capturing interaction orders, objects, places, etc. involved in and enabling the interaction, by applying the methods of visual, socio-semiotic and conversational analysis in a way described and discussed in the earlier sections of this chapter. This preliminary analysis progressed parallel and in close relation with the analysis of computer-mediated interaction carried out in accordance with the methodological strategies for analysing interaction supported by hypermedia technology, which I developed previously in this chapter.

As I proceeded with my participation merged with the ethnographic activities that both drove and fed upon analytical work in a described above manner, I was becoming more and more engaged with the nexus of practice in focus. That is – whilst my participation in it became increasingly internalized and recognized by the actors, at the same time, I began to recognize the internalized “normative expectations” (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 158) held by them with regard to the actions, which circulated through the nexus, and with regard to how these actions were accomplished. This means that I progressively began to identify those actions that seemed to figure strongly in the experiences, accounts, activities and engagements that I observed, participated in and registered as well as identifying those discourses through which these actions were being represented and recognized for what they were and for what they were not in the interaction that I observed, captured and analytically unpacked. Moreover, I began to identify the physical, social and semiotic spaces central to these actions and discourses – that is those sites and semiotic modes through which they circulated and which enabled them.

Thus, if in the beginning of the ethnographic work my research activities were wide-spread and sweeping in an attempt to accumulate as much knowledge as possible about the scenes, actors, discourses and interaction orders involved in the nexus of practice and to become engaged in whatever events and arrangements came in my view. As I progressed with my fieldwork the same empirical and analytical activities gradually became centred around the sites of actors’ engagement, which I have managed to identify and become identified with, taking the form of scene surveys, a

more concrete empirical and analytical study. The aforementioned scene surveys were aimed at locating those actions that circulated through the sites significant to the actors' practices and *discourses in place* (Scollon & Scollon, 2003) through which these actions took meaning within these specific sites. This enabled me to narrow down my empirical focus to a few sites within which I continued my ethnographic work throughout the project. At the same time I was broadening my analytical perspective on these sites, i.e. I was circumferencing my analysis by following the actors as they, in the course of their everyday practices, moved between and across these sites and by mapping out the semiotic and discursive connecting that enabled these movements. In doing so, I was tracing the mediated actions, enacted within the sites under the analysis, back and forth in time and space, making visible how they were linked to the other actors, events, moments, scenes and discourses – i.e. I was navigating the nexus of practice with which I had engaged.

As I proceeded with navigating along the discursive, semiotic and physical trajectories that were being constructed by the actors, I was analytically connecting the newly accumulated data with the material, which had already been under the preliminary analysis described above, putting the collected data through multiple analytical cycles and deepening my analysis to reveal and unpack categorical work, intersemiotic connections, interdiscursive and transdiscursive production in a way that has been described earlier in this chapter. Having already narrowed down my empirical focus to a few sites relevant to the actors' practices, at that point of my ethnography, I was able to narrow down my analytical focus to those discourses, meanings, points and frames of references that I had managed to identify through my analysis as significant – i.e. recognized and made recognizable by the actors. By continuing my analysis through focusing on these foregrounded in the actors interaction aspects of the collected data, I began to make visible and address how the aforementioned discursive, material, cultural, symbolic and ideational resources are employed by the actors in the negotiation and construction of their identities across and beyond national borders and in the production and reproduction of practices that mediate and enable transnational networking.

As emphasized earlier, the analytical and ethnographic work outlined above had not necessarily occurred as sequentially and orderly as it might appear in its account, which is organized somewhat sequentially and procedurally with the rhetoric purpose of making clear the complex methodological and conceptual considerations underpinning the data collection and its analysis within the framework of my research as well as the complex ethnographic and analytical activities

through which they were carried out. Those stages of ethnographic work and analytical steps that were put forward in this account were constantly overlapping, so that both identifying and becoming identified with, engaging and navigating the nexus of practice and those actions, sites, actors and discourses that enabled it, took place if not simultaneously then in close connection with each other. This is due to the fact that the making of practice is a highly dynamic, mobile, on-going and never-accomplished process and the nexus of places, actions, actors and discourses through which this process takes place is never completely stabilized. In fact, it is sustained through the instability itself – i.e. through actors' constant and continuous acts of negotiation of its boundaries, of fixing and shattering its nodes. Therefore, the ethnography of practice can only be accomplished through tracking this instability, which in relation to data collection implies heuristic and analytical movements between and towards the acts (discursive, physical, symbolic and social), which are relevant to the production of this instability. It also implies that I as a researcher I found myself involved in engaging and recognizing some of the elements of practice making, whilst at the same time carrying out an analysis of conversational structures, categorizations, discursive work and intersemiotic connecting based on the data collected within its other elements.

### V.3. From Data Collection to Data Archive

As demonstrated above, the empirical and analytical aspects of my research are closely intertwined and take place in parallel with each other and continuously throughout the project. By constantly moving between ethnographic and analytical activities, between broadening and narrowing of my empirical and analytical angles, I assembled extensive, semiotically diverse, stretched in time and dispersed in space “ensembles of materials”, such as fieldnotes, video, audio recordings and photographs of conversations, places, interaction orders, website snapshots, objects and their images, icons, emoticons, etc. All these materials participated in some way and at some point in one or in many aspects of my ethnographic work; all these materials are involved somehow in one or many analytical contexts. Therefore all these materials constitute my research data and make up what Tim Rapley (2007) refers to as an *archive* – “a diverse collection of materials that enable you to engage with and think about the specific research problems or questions”.

Following conventional research terminology, I have in the body of this chapter described the activities, procedures and strategies connected to the collection of materials – discursive and

material inscriptions produced or used by the actors in the course of their everyday lives – as ‘data collection’. However, I believe that within the framework of my project, the term ‘archive’, as it is defined by Tim Rapley, is much more apt for the description of what obviously is a very extensive and diverse array of inscriptions. The term ‘data’ presupposes the distinction between “raw material” and actual data - “partially processed”, coded and subsequently analyzed materials (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 46). As it becomes obvious from the outline of my empirical and analytical work carried out in this chapter, within the framework of my project, there are months of observation, hours and hours of video and audio recordings, hundreds of website pages, etc. which never emerge in the analytical chapters of the thesis and, hence, cannot be considered data in the traditional sense. Yet, all of this material is involved in the complex ethnographic and analytical work of engaging and navigating the nexus of transnational networking practices and is, hence, crucial for knowing and thinking about my research problems. Trying to identify what materials are involved in analytical segments, how they ended up being involved in them and to what extent they can be considered ‘processed’ or ‘raw’ and then on the basis of that attempting to discriminate between ‘data’ and ‘non-data’ would be not only pointless but also impossible in the case of long-term ethnography, in which I am engaged in my project.

The term ‘archive’, on the other hand, very accurately describes the multiplicity and diversity of the material, which the researcher relies on in his or her arguments as well as, and more importantly, the multiplicity and diversity of ways in which this material is used in and is relevant for generating these arguments, besides being involved in illustrating and producing the final analytical inferences. Therefore, I choose to describe as data all the materials that I accessed, registered, stored, represented and analysed in the course of my project regardless in which form and on what stage these materials were involved in it; and I choose to use the term ‘archive’ to describe the totality of this data, which I was assembling and through which I was navigating in the course of my ethnographic and analytical work. In the following chapter, I shall describe and discuss how I have generated my data archive following methodological strategies developed in this chapter and what this archive is composed of. Later in the thesis, I shall also be discussing how I choose to deal with the challenges of recording, managing and representing multimodal data as well as how I approach the matters of ethics and researcher responsibility in relation to participatory and engaged form of ethnographic work described above.

## VI. CHAPTER SUMMARY

Within the framework of this chapter I have been preoccupied with the development of multimodal, socio-semiotic, discourse analytical approach to doing the ethnography of practice. I apply this approach in examining the making of the practices through which the actors produce and sustain, challenge and reshape transnational mobility and through which they negotiate and re-negotiate their identities across and beyond nationality-bound frames of reference. I undertake this complex yet crucial task not only to be able to realize my own research agenda but also as a response to the repeatedly and intensely articulated scholarly demands to develop the methodological framework, which would allow the researchers interested in investigating transnational experiences to grasp empirically and to address analytically the density, thickness and dynamics of these experiences (Clavin, 2005; Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007; Khagram & Levitt, 2008; Pries, 2008; Marcus, 1995), Burawoy (2003, as cited in Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007, p. 143), Fitzgearld (2006, as cited in Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007, p. 143), Mazzucato (2007b, as cited in Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007, p. 143).

The significance of this methodological task grows to be even more obvious, once we become aware of the fact that the above mentioned methodological inadequacy is not unique to transnational research but is symptomatic of the methodological challenges currently faced by the majority of social science studies. These challenges, extensively debated within such directions as Ethnomethodology (EM), Science, Technology and Society (STS), Actor Network Theory (ANT), Mobility Studies, etc. and by such scholars as Law (2004; 2004), Latour (2005), Urry (2003), Rawls (2002), etc., consist in the fact that conventional methods of social research are not equipped to deal with the messiness and complexity of social realities produced by the increasing, proliferating and intersecting mobilities of humans, materialities, places, information, capital and artefacts. Moreover, by trying to describe “the things that are complex, diffuse and messy” with the methods that presume and that seek definite, coherent and accomplished social structures, the projects that assume these methods end up suppressing the very possibility of the messiness, complexity and mobility through which out-there-ness is made and re-made (Law, 2003, pp. 2, 3).

It is this interdependence between the way reality is viewed and the methods through which it is examined, highlighted in the works of the aforementioned authors that moved me to begin my own methodological journey and my own effort to tackle the aforementioned methodological challenges by substantiating those metaphysical (a particular way of viewing social realities) and

metatheoretical (a particular way of viewing the role of research in knowing and shaping these realities) grounds on the basis of which I am doing that. As demonstrated in this chapter, in articulating and substantiating these grounds I build upon the conceptual work of such theoretical directions as Ethnomethodology (Garfinkel, 2002) and Actor Network Theory (Latour, 2005; Law, 2004; Law, 2003). In sympathy with these perspectives, I see out-there-ness not as accomplished social structures, which the researcher has an exclusive prerogative to analyse and report, but as a multiplicity of associations through which social units, agencies, categories and meanings become assembled in the mundane practices of the members. I also argue that while the making of these associations might be incoherent, complex and dynamic, it is also accessible and observable in the members' actions and accounts and is constructed and instructed through them. Thus, I claim that there is a method to every mess and that the knowing of this method can be and should be realised not "in advance, and *in place* of the actors" (Latour, 2005, pp. 41, 29) but by following members' daily practices within which this method is being produced and re-produced.

Having established these metaphysical and metatheoretical premises, I then proceed by demonstrating how, based on these premises, I organize the knowing of politics (the construction) and of pedagogy (the instruction) of members' methods underpinning transnational mobility with which my research is concerned. I argue that transnational mobility is not "a thing among other things" (Latour, 2005, p. 5) – i.e. a particular established and accomplished form of the social (for instance, a transnational context or scale), but connecting between practices, sites, artefacts, symbols that are not themselves transnational. I also claim that this on-going connecting is anchored in and mediated by mundane, every day acts, actions and activities, in which the actors engage across multiple semiotic and physical sites and through which they organise their practices and their belonging both across and beyond commonplace, established national categorisations. It is therefore this connecting, which I term transnational networking, is what I examine within the framework of my research by focusing on the way it is being mediated (produced, represented and organized) in the course of actors' everyday practices.

Further in the argument generated in this chapter, I formulate the concept of practice, defining it not as a fixed, established form of human activities inherent to a specific phenomenon (such as "transnationalism") and independent of the other human experiences and engagements, but as social actions that are mediated through a variety of semiotic resources and the modes and that participate in the production and assigning of meaning to social realities. In connection to that I claim that



these actions are enabled by resemiotization (Iedema, 2001) – continuous and multiple shifts of modality through which the actors traverse between and across various sites of engagement, points of reference, categories and discursive frames involved in negotiation of their identities. It is these semiotic, discursive, social and placial connecting is what enables transnational networking and what I am following to examine it. I refer to this examination as ethnography of practice.

The central analytical and conceptual tool through which I build up this ethnography is ‘discourse’, which I view as language-in-use-in-interaction with other elements of social realities, which are not necessarily linguistic. Discourse refers to the multiplicity of ways in which humans integrate language with non-language “stuff”: thinking, acting, interacting, valuing, feeling, believing, and using symbols, tools, and objects (Gee, 1999), by representing it, positioning themselves in relation to it or/and organizing it. It is these three meta-functions of discourse (Halliday, 1978, 1994 as cited in Iedema, 2003, p. 58), which comprise discourse dialectics (Fairclough, 2003), is what I rely on when I argue that the notion of discourse allows me to create a conceptual and analytical channel between the cultural, political and social specificities and values of transnational networking, the mundane practices of the actors, which enable it, and those situated meanings, categories, competences and actions that are involved in the enactment of these practices.

Further in this chapter, I proceed with building my argument by combining the two latter points summarized above. Namely, if transnational mobility is enabled and enacted through transnational networking, which the actors produce as they engage in the banal everyday actions and practices across multiple forms of modality and diverse semiotic repertoires, and if in this process they represent, orient towards and organize transnational matters (as any other social aspect of social realities) through discourse, then what I should be doing in order to examine these matters is focusing on the actors’ discursive practices from multimodal, socio-semiotic perspective. That is - I claim that I can make transnational networking tangible by mapping out and unpacking semiotic shifts and discursive transformations through which the actors make relevant, recognize and assign meanings to those categories, symbols, artefacts, experiences and accounts that they invoke and involve in the construction of their identities across and beyond national borders and in organization of transnational living.

I then continue by assembling, the methodological apparatus, which enables me to accomplish such an examination. I specify what aspects of meaning-making machinery (Sacks, 1992), I look at and what empirical strategies and analytical tools I use to make visible how this machinery works and to

unpack the meanings produced through this work. Through a detailed methodological account and discussion of the diverse potentialities and affordances for meaning-making that different technologies, forms of media and semiotic fields bare and of the diverse competences and procedures through which the actors make use of these affordances, I generate a set of methods and strategies that are carefully tailored for capturing, mapping out and analyzing meaning-making practices as they take place within and across multiple co-present and technology-mediated interactional settings.

In devising such multimodal approach to social semiotic and discourse analysis, I borrow into the conceptual and analytical repertoire of a number of scholarly perspectives, combining the tools proposed within these perspectives and often utilizing them outside the analytical contexts and practices, for which they were originally intended. This becomes particularly visible in relation to hypermedial interactional genres, which operate with multiple semiotic repertoires and within which diverse interactional conventions are mobilised and resemiotized to produce new interactive, hypermodal, multi-lineal genres and spaces of social interaction. To examine meaning-making practice supported by hypermedia, I assemble a methodological toolkit, which brings together conventional methods of CMC research, such as website analysis, elements of visual and social semiotic analysis, which are increasingly being used in CMC studies, and strategies for analysing conversational organization and categorical work developed within the framework of CA and traditionally applied in co-present conversational contexts.

Thus, by modifying, recontextualizing and building upon diverse analytical traditions, I develop an approach to examining how the actors mobilise diverse semiotic resources to categorize various aspects of realities, how they position themselves in relation to these categorizations and how in doing so they do not merely mix and chain multiple discursive frameworks producing the so-called interdiscursive hybridity (Fairclough, 2003, p. 35) but also generate new ways of representing, enacting and governing particular aspects of out-there-ness (such as transnational mobility), what I describe as transdiscursivity.

This methodological work is followed by an account of the ways through which I organize and strategize the ethnographic activities that allow me to access and capture those semiotic, social and discursive places and interactional events across which the meaning-making practices that I am tracing and unpacking through the aforementioned methodological apparatus take place. This account is anchored in two arguments. The first argument concerns the pervasiveness of the social

matters (Sacks, 1992), which implies that those aspects of realities that matter to the actors are observable in their most mundane actions and throughout the social arrangements even when they appear to be completely unremarkable in relation to the particular aspects of realities with which our research is concerned. From this argument, I derive the next claim, which underpins the organization of my ethnographic work. This claim refers to the fact, that by virtue of the aforementioned “omnipresence and ready observability” (Sacks, 1987, p.56, as cited in Silverman, 1998, p. 71) of the social, I start out my ethnography and data collection process based on the notion that transnational mobility, being as pervasive as any other aspect of social reality, is not condensed in some secluded social places and engagements but is disseminated throughout the social. Hence, those matters of it that matter are observable in the most banal of the members’ practices and if studied carefully (i.e. following the methodological strategies developed in this chapter) the inferences made on the basis of this material are generalizable to the other interactional encounters.

I then proceed by the description and discussion of ethnographic strategies and activities through which I can arrive at knowing those mundane practices of the actors within which I am tracing and analyzing the making of meanings that are involved in the construction of transnational networking. These strategies, based on the methodological framework proposed by Nexus Analysis (Scollon, 2001; Scollon & Scollon, 2004), cover a set of analytical and empirical activities aimed at engaging (identifying, becoming recognized within and circumferencing) and navigating those interaction orders, discourses, actions and sites that mediate and sustain the practices in focus. It is by moving between the aforementioned heuristic and analytical activities that I carry out the ethnography of transnational networking practices and assemble what I choose to refer to as data archive (Rapley, 2007) – an ensemble of multisemiotic inscriptions, which the actors produce in the course of their daily lives, which I capture through the ethnographic work outlined in this chapter and on which I rely in illustrating and generating my analytical inferences.

Thus, as demonstrated above, the current chapter of my thesis comprises a detailed account and discussion of metaphysical, metatheoretical and methodological considerations, which underpin empirical and analytical work that I carry out and that I shall delineate further in the thesis. Through the methodological work outlined above I have generated a multimodal, social semiotic, discourse analytical approach specifically tailored for knowing the complex, mobile matters of the contemporary social realities in general and transnational networking in particular. In the next

chapter, I describe how I have applied this approach in engaging and navigating the nexus of actors, sites, discourses and actions within which I conduct the ethnography of transnational networking practices and how I have assembled the data archive on which I rely in my analysis.

## CHAPTER 4: ENGAGING THE NEXUS OF PRACTICE: ASSEMBLING THE DATA ARCHIVE

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The current chapter of the thesis represents the narrative of a three-year-long ethnographic journey through which I generated an extensive, multimodal archive of materials that I invoke in my analytical examination. In this narrative, I account for the multiple and continuous hermeneutic movements between personal and academic concerns motivating my study as well as between ethnographic, participatory and analytical activities through which I circumference both: the nexus of practice within which I assemble my data archive, and the analytical focus of my investigation. As has been discussed and described in the previous chapter, within the framework of my project, I do not decide in advance what social structures and mechanisms enable the transnational networking practices, which I seek to explore, nor do I decide in place of the members what methods, i.e. what actions and acts, discursivities and materialities, they mobilize to organize and enact these practices. Instead, by engaging in multiple cycles of ethnographic and analytical work that feed upon each other, I identify the sites of actors' engagement and interaction orders through which the discourses and actions relevant and meaningful to the actors circulate and within which I, therefore, assemble my data archive. In addition, I triangulate analytically those moments and aspects of actors' interaction, i.e. I select those segments of the archive, on which I rely in my further analytical examination. This entails that within the framework of my research, the process of identifying and locating the aspects of reality making and the moments of social interaction mediating it as well as capturing these moments for further examination took place not only through the merging of diverse forms ethnographic and participatory engagement in a way that builds upon the methodological strategies of Nexus Analysis (Scollon, 2001; Scollon & Scollon, 2004) and that is described in the previous chapter, but also through doing preliminary analysis. It is through this analysis, closely intertwined with the ethnographic activities and accomplished by using the elements of Membership Categorization Device (MCD) (Sacks, 1992; Silverman, 1998) and multimodal social semiotic analysis (Iedema, 2001; Iedema, 2003; Kress, 2010) (see Chapter 3 for the detailed discussion of these methodological strategies), that I carried out what I have defined earlier in this thesis as the ethnography of transnational networking practices.

This chapter, therefore, represents an account and discussion of the aforementioned intertwined ethnographic and analytical circles and of the data archiving and data selecting process enabled by

them. This implies that the analytical segments, which appear in the course of this account, illustrate how I was getting to the position at which my analytical examination is conducted. That is – the preliminary analytical glances represented below are not themselves the acts of knowing how transnational networking is carried out and sustained but the description of how I got to know that whatever social and discursive mechanisms are involved in this process are there to be known in the first place. Later in the thesis (Chapter 7), I pick up these analytical threads and continue my investigation by further, more detailed analytical examination of those categories, discursive and semiotic constructs, actions and practices that I identified, in the course of ethnographic and analytical work represented in this chapter, as meaningful to the actors and on the basis of those moments of social interaction that I identified, in the course of the same work, as meaningful to knowing how these categories, constructs and actions are mobilized in enacting of transnational networking.

## I. ESTABLISHING THE ISSUES OF STUDY

The process of establishing the issue of my study had started long before the work on the project began. As pointed out in the previous chapter, “the first place to look for the issue”, with which you will become deeply involved, “is in your own life, your own actions, and your own value system” (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 154). My interest in the issues of transnational mobility and translational living are rooted in my *historical body* (Scollon & Scollon 2001, 2004, Scollon 2003) – a unique combination of my personal experiences, or to be more exact its following aspects:

### 1. My academic interests and engagements.

In the course of my university studies, through my coursework and particularly through the work on my master thesis, I have gradually developed a genuine concern for the matters of discourse practices, identity construction, multimodality, hypermedia and intercultural communication. This concern included both scholarly agenda: current theoretical and methodological issues relevant to the examination of multimodal discursive practices and their role in the construction of identity and teaching the conduct of conduct (Dreyfus, Rabinow, & Foucault, 1983) as well as social-critical dimension: growing awareness of the increasingly covert and shifting character of racist and discriminatory practices, of the subtlety and variety of governmental strategies and of the role of research in making the aforementioned social and political issues visible. It is these academic

concerns and competences that drew my attention to the complex and fairly uncharted matters of transnational mobility, of the construction and instruction of the social and discursive regimes of acting and interacting through which living and belonging are organized across and beyond national, ethnical and cultural borders.

2. My own personal experiences connected with moving to another country.

The aforementioned set of academic interests is closely intertwined with my personal stories of crossing the physical and symbolic national borders. These stories provide me with the insights into the problematics, dynamics and richness of transnational living, which both drive my research academic work and grow deeper due to the conceptual and analytical perspective that this work adds to my life experiences. This combination of personal and academic points of view, of experientially and scholarly acquired competences, of social encounters and intellectual work formed a unique angle from which I look at and into the scope of transnational matters. It is through this angle that I became aware of a spectrum of questions and concerns related to transnational mobility, which might have remained unnoticed within the framework of a different research project, and on the basis of which I develop many of the conceptual claims presented in this thesis. It is through this unique academic and life perspective that I have developed a growing sense of discrepancy between the references to the grand, macro-scale flows produced by the conventional conceptualization of transnationality both inside and outside academia and my own experiences of transnational mobility, which all appeared to be much more banal and much less exotic as the term seemed to presuppose, yet more complex, dynamic and rich than it has ever been able to convey. The discrepancy that I sensed and that I address both theoretically and analytically in this thesis also involved having the feeling of moving between diverse sets of cultural norms, values, beliefs and modes of doing, which have been so extensively and profoundly discussed within the framework of diaspora, migrational and transnational shuttling theories (see Chapter 2), and the whole wide range of other feelings, encounters, experiences, which fall out and exceed this version of transnational living and belonging as perpetually “split”, “dual” or “torn” normalised within academic and public discourse on transnationality.

Thus, the aforementioned moments of my life-narrative and aspects of my historical body is what drove me to the set of questions and issues that comprise my research agenda and what sustained my unreserved interest through the project. Other dimensions of my historical body have influenced the course of actions through which I have approached the task of finding and accessing the social



actors, scenes and interactional orders with which and within which I have carried out the ethnographic work that provided me with the data on the basis of which I examine the established set of issues.

Shortly after I had moved from Russian Federation to Denmark in 1999, I came across the website of the Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg<sup>5</sup>. During the following couple of years I had been visiting this website on and off screening it for possible cultural events that I might want to attend and just being generally curious about the community, which judging from the quick look into the website content, seemed to involve Danish and Russian-speaking people living around Northern Jutland. While my interest in this community never evolved into actual participation in it, my interest in the website of the Danish-Russian Society grew, becoming more and more analytical as my academic concerns for the matters of transnational mobility, discourse and hypermedia developed in a manner described earlier in this chapter. What drew my particular attention at that point was a strikingly broad and diverse spectrum of social, cultural, religious, political, academic and political events and engagements, in which the society has been participating and organizing since 1999 (when the website was originated). As Figure 3 demonstrates, the society's functioning was distinctively and unequivocally positioned at the intersection of two nationalities both iconically as well as through the layout and through the elements of verbal discourse:

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<sup>5</sup> "Dansk-Russisk Forening – Aalborg" <<http://www.dkrus-aalborg.dk>>

Figure 3: Discursive Framing of the Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg Constructed within the <http://www.dkrus-aalborg.dk> Website (Appendix III.1)

The name of the society, "Danish-Russian Society", (or its abbreviation DRF) is repeated three times in the main frame of the website and is distributed along the frame so that it follows its vectors both horizontally and vertically. This creates a strong discursive anchorage of the website's content to the Danish-Russian cross-national axis.



The above mentioned discursive framing created by means of the layout and written language is fortified by the iconic portrayal of the national crosspoint, which is projected by Danish and Russian national flags placed in a cone, with the name of the society placed at the cone's vertex.

However, the variety of events involved in the functioning of the society and mediated in the content of the website transgressed by far the simplistic national axis, whose construction is illustrated in Figure 3. These events included:

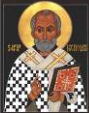

- cultural activities (exhibitions, theatre performances, concerts, etc.)

Image 1: Events Archive (Website of the Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg, 2003-2006), Appendix III.1

<p><b>Oktober 2006</b></p> <p><b>Kulturnatten i Aalborg</b> Fredag den 20. oktober kl. 20.00, 21.00 og 22.00</p> <p><b>HarmonikaOZ</b> på <a href="#">Galleri DECÓ</a> Vesterbro 30 (over for Astoria Bio)</p> <p>Imponerende at se og høre den ukrainske accordeonvirtuos Vadim Darmostuks repertoire, Der spænder fra klassisk til sprælske, muntre og fyrgige polkaer fra Don-kosakkernes hjemland.</p> <p>Arrangør: Dansk-Russisk Forening og Galleri DECÓ</p> <p>Køb <a href="#">Nattegn</a> til Kulturnatten a kr. 50</p> 	<p><b>Moscow Art Trio</b> Fredag den 22. oktober kl. 20 i Huset, Hasserisgade 10</p> <p>Misha Alperin (piano), Sergey Starostin (sang, klarinet m.m.), Arkady Shilkloper (valdhorn, flygelhorn). Moscow Art Trios medlemmer er alle klassisk skolede musikere med erfaringer fra bl.a. Sovjettidens avantgardejazz, Bolsjoi-balletten og de mangfoldige folkemusiktraditioner i det udstrakte Sovjetimperium. Gruppen har udviklet en egen personlig stil med inspiration fra moderne jazz og improvisationsmusik, nyere klassiske komponister, og østeuropæisk og asiatisk folkemusik.</p> <p>Koncerten er røgfri. Entré: 80 kr., studerende 40 kr. Forsalg: Huset tlf. 9633 8100 Arrangør: Papaya, NUT &amp; Huset med støtte fra Kunststyrelsen, Musam &amp; Nordjyllands Amt.</p> 
<p><b>Oktober 2003</b></p> <p><b>Folk-jazz-rock med The Farlanders - Moskva</b> Torsdag den 23. oktober kl. 20 Huset, Hasserisgade</p> <p><i>I samarbejde med Papaya og Huset</i></p> <p><b>Kulturnat 2003</b> Fredag den 10. oktober kl. 20 &amp; 21 &amp; 22</p> <p><b>Lys musik fra det mørke Rusland -</b> Russisk folkemusik i Banegårdshallen med <b>Karavai</b></p> <p>Karavai-kvartetten med sangerinden Irina Kulikova har specialiseret sig i svingende og tempofyldt traditionel russisk folkemusik og sang. De fire musikere er eksperter på deres instrumenter og sangerinden Irina Kulikova er en sand virtuos inden for den helt unikke russiske sangtradition.</p>  	<p><b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> Tirsdag den 2. november kl. 17 Huset, Hasserisgade</p> <p><b>Oktober 2004</b></p> <p><b>Russiske æg</b> 31. marts - 25. april i <a href="#">Trekanten</a>, Sebbesundvej 2A, 9220 Aalborg Ø. Ellen Aspring udstiller russiske æg, som hun selv fremstiller.</p> <p>I samme periode udstilles <a href="#">"Pusjkins adresser"</a>, grafiske blade udlånt af Dansk-Russisk Forening.</p> 
<p><b>April 2003</b></p> 	<p><b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> Tirsdag den 22. oktober kl. 17 i Huset</p>

- religious practices (church services, exhibitions of Orthodox icons)

Image 2: Events Archive (Website of the Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg, 2002-2006), Appendix III.1

<p><b>December 2006</b></p> <p><b>Ikonudstilling</b> Fredag den 8. december kl. 15.30 <a href="#">Vor Frelsers Kirke</a> Annebergvej 2 Udstillingen åbnes ved et arrangement fredag den 8. december.</p> <p>Se indbydelsen <a href="#">her</a>. Se katalog over ikonerne <a href="#">her</a>.</p> <p><b>"Lyset der kommer i dit hjem"</b> - foredrag om Russiske ikoner</p> <p>Fredag den 8. december kl. 16.30 Vor Frelsers Kirke, Annebergvej 2</p> <p>I forbindelse med åbningen af ikon-udstillingen i Vor Frelsers Kirke fortæller Prior ved Skt. Alexander Nevski Kirke i København (Moskva Patriarkat) Fader Theofan om russiske ikoner - deres betydning, historie og teknik. Foredraget er gratis og åbent for alle. Læs mere om russiske ikoner på side 3 i <a href="#">Medlemsinfo nr. 21</a> (PDF)</p> 	<p><b>Russisk ortodoks gudstjeneste</b> Lørdag den 26. oktober kl. 16.30 Sted: <a href="#">Skt. Mariæ kirke</a> (Den katolske Kirke), Kastetvej 1, Aalborg.</p> <p><b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> Tirsdag den 22. oktober kl. 17 i Huset</p> <p><b>Den Russiske Ortodokse Kirke</b> Tirsdag den 1. oktober 2002, kl. 19 Sted: Huset, Hasserisgade 10, Aalborg (Mødelokalet). Foredrag v/ Arne Bugge, pastor emeritus og fhv. domprovst ved Vor Frue Kirke i København.</p> 
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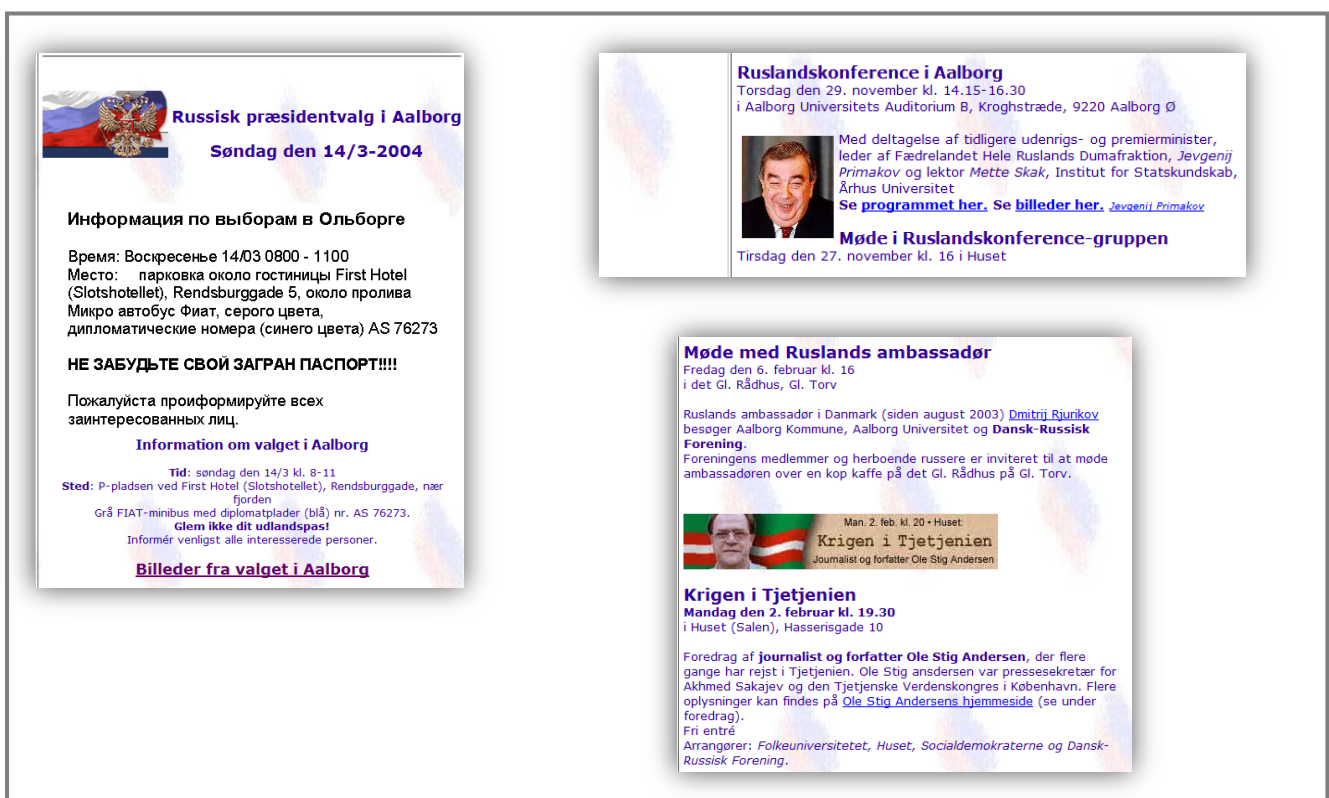
- social get-togethers (New Year dinners, summer lunches, picnics, etc)

Image 3: Events Archive (Website of the Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg, 2004), Appendix III.1



- political acts (voting, meeting with Russian ambassador in Denmark, meeting with Duma members, etc.)

Image 4: Events Archive (Website of the Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg, 2001-2004), Appendix III.1



- educational events (lectures, conferences, seminars, etc.)

Image 5: Events Archive (Website of the Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg, 2002-2005), Appendix III.1



- humanitarian actions (collection of books for donation to schools, collection of money for AIDS-information programme).

Image 6: Events Archive (Website of the Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg, 1999-2004), Appendix III.1



The diversity of practices, actions, engagements that came together in the aforementioned events demonstrated clearly and illustratively how easily people organizing, participating in and representing those events moved between:

- diverse points of reference (cultural, political, religious) some of them involving national categories others not,
- between diverse units of the social, such as
  - familial as it is illustrated by the images bellow, which represent advertisement of the theatre performances for children organized by the Danish-Russian Society



Image 7: Events Archive (Website of the Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg, 2006-2007), Appendix III.1



- organizational and institutional, for instance, functioning of the D-R Society and functioning of the work unions in Russia

Image 8: Events Archive (Website of the Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg, 2004), Appendix III.1



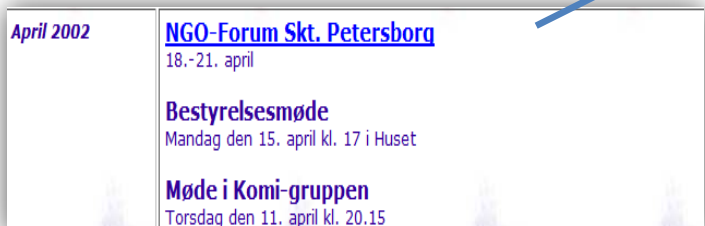
- governmental and non-governmental

Image 9: Events Archive (Website of the Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg, 2002-2004), Appendix III.1



"Russian presidential elections in Aalborg"

"NGO-Forum St. Petersburg"



- between past, present and future time frames,

**Image 10: Events Archive (Website of the Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg, 2003-2006), Appendix III.1**



"The modern Russia historical perspective"



"St. Petersburg – in the past and the present"



"Putin's Russia"

- between national (such as educational system in Russia) and global concerns (such as struggle with AIDS),



**Image 11: Events Archive (Website of the Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg, 1999-2002) , Appendix III.1**





- between ideational, symbolic and material resources.

### Image 12: Events Archive (Website of the Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg, 2000-2003), Appendix III.1

<p><b>Oktober 2000</b></p>	<p><b>Russisk mentalitet</b>          Tirsdag den 31. oktober kl. 19-21 i Huset.          Foredrag ved cand.phil. Thomas Heuniche, Dansk-Russisk Forening, Aalborg Afd.          I samarbejde med <a href="#">Folkeuniversitetet</a>, der modtager tilmelding.          Pris: Kr. 60 (sammen med foredraget den 18/9 kr. 95,-).</p>	<p>"Russian Mentality"</p>
<p><b>Den russiske idé</b></p> <p>I anledning af filmens 100 års fødselsdag i 1996 producerede Det Britiske Filminstitut en serie dokumentarfilm instrueret af kendte filmfolk fra hele verden. Afsnittet om russisk film er en filosofisk montage, der undersøger hvordan begrebet Den Russiske Idé er reflekteret i filmkunsten. Storslåede forestillinger - religiøse eller politiske - om en strålende utopisk fremtid har præget russisk kunst gennem de forskellige historiske epoker. Filmen er en montage af 100 års russisk film, med klip af blandt andre Serge Eisenstein, Vsevolod Pudovkin og Dziga Vertov.          Storbritannien, 1995. 52 min. Danske undertekster. Instruktør: Sergei Seljanov.</p>		<p>"The Russian idea"</p>
<p><b>Foreningens nytårsfrokost</b>  <b>Fredag den 27. januar kl. 19</b>          i 3F's lokaler, Søndergade 62, 4. sal, Aalborg</p>  <p>Som vi med succes prøvede de sidste par år, består måden af et stort <b>fælles tag-selv-bord</b>, hvor hver deltager medbringer en hjemmelavet eller eventuelt købt ret. Hver deltager skal mindst medbringe mad nok til en person.          Forslag til retter kunne være russisk salat, kartoffelsalat, salat eller måske noget varmt som pirogger, frikadeller eller blini. Der er mulighed for at varme måden i lokalets køkken.</p> <p>Dertil en flaske vodka, som foreningen giver og man kan købe sig til mere vodka eller øl og vand til uhyre rimelige priser.</p> <p><b>Pris:</b> 25,- kr. pr. person.  <b>Tilmelding</b> senest den 25. januar til:          Ulrik Eskildsen, tlf.: 98 12 74 66          eller Jesper Nielsen, tlf.: 98 11 31 75</p> 		<p>Invitation to the annual New Year lunch at the D-R Society suggesting the food that could be brought and bought, such "Russian salad", "pirogi", "blini", vodka, etc.</p>

Many elements of visual and verbal discourse present on the website projected established, recognizable categories of methodological nationalism, what Michael Billig refers to as *banal nationalism* (Billig, 1995), which is particularly visible in the iconic images of stereotypical Russianness (such as bottles of vodka, Matryoshkas, red stars and cans of black caviar), as well as established, recognizable rhetoric of *banal transnationalism* (Aksoy & Robins, 2003) that dwells on the linear cross-national axis as Danish-Russian axis, whose construction within the framework of the Danish-Russian Society website I illustrated earlier.

**Image 13: Website of the Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg (Main Page and Events Archive), Appendix III.1**



However, as demonstrated above, the acts, actions and activities, in relation to which these discursive categories were invoked, presupposed the movements not only between the conventional national and transnational frames of reference but also beyond them.

These very raw, superficial analytical glances into the website in focus seemed to support some of the reflections with regard to the complexity of transnational living, which I have already been making on the basis of my academic and personal experiences. Therefore, when my PhD project has begun giving me an opportunity for deep scholarly exploration and development of the matters on which I have been reflecting, I have chosen the Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg as the starting point of this exploration.

## **II. ESTABLISHING THE ZONE OF IDENTIFICATION**

I had thus, prior to the beginning of my project, established a set of issues on which I would focus as well as the point of entrance at which I would seek an access to the social arrangements and interactions that would form the empirical aspect my examination, I started my work on the project by establishing my zone of identification with those people, places and interaction orders of which I had become aware through personal concerns and analytical interests described in the previous section. I began by searching the website of the D-R Society in Aalborg for the information about those people who might figure as the gatekeepers of the organization. Having quickly found the contact information about the members of the society's board I chose to contact two of them – the acting head and the former head of the board. During the next three months, in regular telephone

conversations with these people as well as through a series of e-mail exchanges, I told about my history of coming to Denmark, my Russian background, my experience in Denmark, my PhD project, answering the questions about the source of my interest in it, its goals, its scope, its most recent developments. Apart from that, I also applied for the membership in the society, which, though not yet giving me access to the community of people engaged in the functioning of the society, legitimized bureaucratically my participation in it and signalled the seriousness and long-term character of this participation.

As a result of this work, I was asked to send to the head of the board a short description of my project, which was then distributed to the other members of the society through the mailing list. Shortly after, I was invited to the board meeting, which took place on 3 May 2007, in Huset<sup>6</sup>, Aalborg. As discussed in the previous chapter of the thesis, the central goal of this initial stage of doing the ethnography of practice is not to “collect data” but to locate, to learn about and to initiate the connections to those social arrangements and interactional orders where I would be assembling the archive of materials and through which I would be navigating in the course of my analytical and ethnographic work. What was important for me to accomplish during this meeting was introducing once again myself and my research project, answering the questions that the members of the board might have had in relation to it, getting to know as much as possible about the society, about people, institutions, organizations, places involved in it, etc. Therefore, during the meeting I refrained from using any recording equipment, which might have made the people whom I was meeting in person for the first time feel uneasy, limiting the research aspect of my participation to observation, taking field notes and unstructured interviewing of the board members. In the conversations, which took place during the meeting, I particularly focused on emphasising my determination to protect privacy of people who would agree to participate in the project, on clarifying the flexible and individual character of the scope of this participation and on telling about the ways through which I intended to respect the boundaries that each of the participants might set on their involvement in the project (these issues of research responsibility as well as other ethical matters will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6 of the thesis). I have also pointed out how my membership and participation in the society could be beneficial for it – for instance, that I could serve as the photographer at the upcoming meetings and events providing the images for the archive of the society’s website. In return, I had a chance to learn about the history of the D-R Society in

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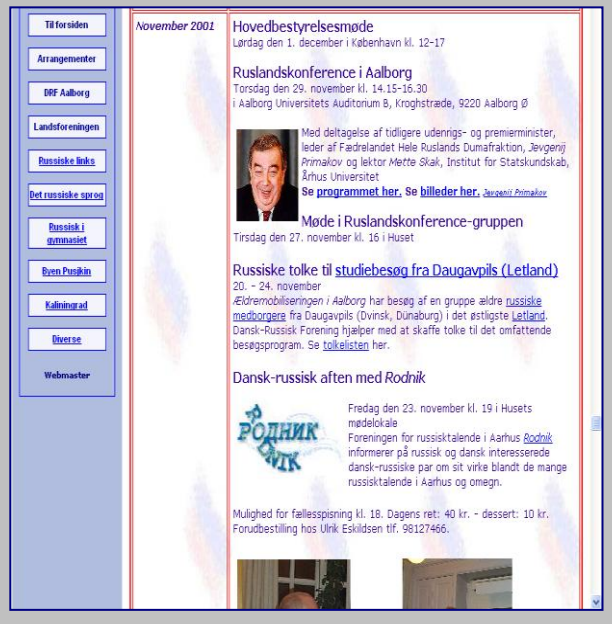
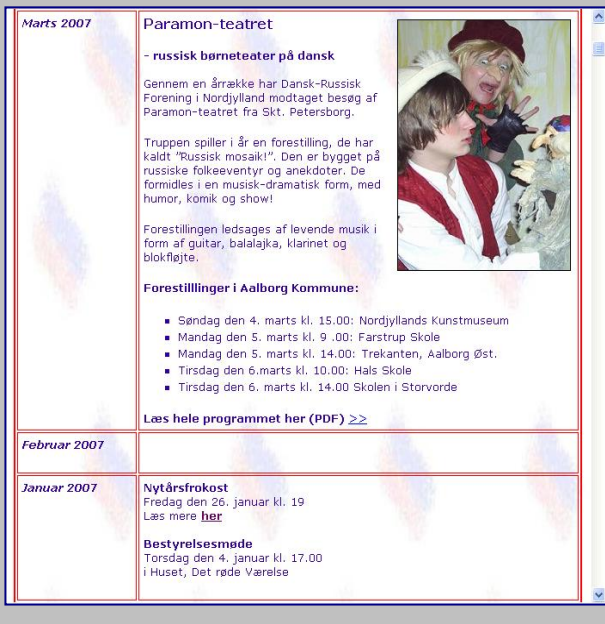
<sup>6</sup> Local community centre

Aalborg, about the people involved in it, about the hopes that they had for the future of what was beginning to look like a very fluid community of members who were geographically dispersed not only across Denmark but also across the world and whose memberships in this community was formed by the variety of loose, shifting attachments realised through diverse ways. Below I shortly describe the historical background of the society in focus and the becoming of this community.

The Northern Jutland section of the D-R has existed since 1924 and its primary aim consisted in facilitating “cooperation and friendship relations of any kind between Russia and Denmark” (<http://www.dkrus-aalborg.dk> [June 2007]). The character of the organisation, its status and activity has changed a number of times over the years. For instance, during the period of the cold war the operation of the society was frozen, the financial donations were stopped and participatory activities of its members (whose absolute majority were Danes) had practically ceased. After the end of the cold war, the situation has changed quite radically, all of the D-R units were encouraged by the local municipalities to revive their activities. Aalborg unit of the D-R Society has received “from above” a difficult task to re-establish “from the bottom” the connections with Russia as a part of a larger governmental plan to warm up the relationships with the Russian Federation. Two or three years later, Russia started to emerge as a promising market for western business in general and Danish business specifically. The D-R Society became some sort of “contact bureau” for both Danish and Russian businessmen interested in gaining some “true” information about each other’s culture and business opportunities. The period from 1995 and up to the 2002-2003 has been marked by the rapid increase in the number of Russian-Danish marriages. Not only Russian women and, more seldom men, were coming to and settling down in the Northern Jutland but their family members, parents and children, as well as friends were becoming permanent or temporal (in case of visiting) members of the Russian minority in Denmark. It is at that time that both the activity of Aalborg D-R Society and its memberships have experienced a visible growth. New Russian members of the society together with their Danish spouses, their children and sometimes friends did not only actively participate in the D-R Society’s activities; they also took over their planning and organisation, setting up the society agenda and causing shift in its character towards more grassroots-oriented form. However, during the last couple of years, as the “new” members have progressively become “old”, the operation of Aalborg D-R Society has been slowing down leading to the present situation in which, although the official number of the society members remained largely unchanged, around 60, the actual participation has essentially dropped. This change is reflected in the website of the society, where the archive of the past events demonstrates the

decrease in the amount of the activities as well as the change in the character of the events, the majority of which are now being organised and attended by the members of the society board committee and their families (see Figure 4):

**Figure 4: Archive of events in the Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg (<<http://www.dkrus-aalborg.dk>> [June 2007]), Appendix III.1**

<b>Archive of the events in the D-R Society (2001-2004): The events are frequent and diverse, involving cultural, social, educational and political activities and a broad range of participants.</b>	<b>Archive of the events in the D-R Society (2006-2007): The events are seldom and unvarying, mostly consisting of board meetings.</b>
	
	



<p><a href="#">Det russiske sprog</a></p> <p><a href="#">Russisk i gymnasiet</a></p> <p><a href="#">Byen Pusjkin</a></p> <p><a href="#">Kalininograd</a></p> <p><a href="#">Diverse</a></p> <p><a href="#">Webmaster</a></p>	<h3>Dansk-russisk aften med Rodnik</h3>  <p>Freddag den 23. november kl. 19 i Husets mødelokale Foreningen for russisktalende i Aarhus <a href="#">Rodnik</a> informerer på russisk og dansk interesserede dansk-russiske par om sit virke blandt de mange russisktalende i Aarhus og omegn.</p> <p>Mulighed for fællesspisning kl. 18. Dagens ret: 40 kr. - dessert: 10 kr. Forudbestilling hos Ulrik Eskildsen tlf. 98127466.</p>  <p>Søren Terp får testet sine sprogkundskaber ...</p>  <p>mens Natalia Lieknins fortæller om Rodnik på russisk</p>	<p><a href="#">Det russiske sprog</a></p> <p><a href="#">Russisk i gymnasiet</a></p> <p><a href="#">Byen Pusjkin</a></p> <p><a href="#">Kalininograd</a></p> <p><a href="#">Diverse</a></p> <p><a href="#">Webmaster</a></p>	<h3>November 2006</h3> <h4>Det moderne Rusland i historisk perspektiv</h4> <p>Tirsdag den 7. november kl. 19 Cafeen, <a href="#">Nordjyllands Kunstmuseum</a></p>  <p>Karsten Fledelius, historiker og landsformand for Dansk-Russisk Forening, holder foredrag om Rusland i fortid og nutid.</p> <p>Gentagelsen af danske prinsesse Dagmar i Skt. Petersborg til september understreger de tætte bånd der over tid har været mellem Danmark og Rusland. Det er afsæt for Karsten Fledelius foredrag, der søger at vise situationen i nutidens Rusland i historiens spejl.</p> <p>Karsten Fledelius er kendt fra TV som en vidende og farverig kommentator; - her er der mulighed for en fordybet introduktion til vor store nabo mod øst!</p> <p>Arrangeres i et samarbejde med <a href="#">Kulturklub FOKUS</a> - Pris 80 kr.</p> <p><b>Fri entré</b> for medlemmer af Dansk-Russisk Forening.</p> <h4>Bestyrelsesmøde</h4> <p>Mandag 6. november kl. 18</p>						
<p><a href="#">Til forsiden</a></p> <p><a href="#">Arrangementer</a></p> <p><a href="#">DRF Aalborg</a></p> <p><a href="#">Landsforeningen</a></p> <p><a href="#">Russiske links</a></p> <p><a href="#">Det russiske sprog</a></p> <p><a href="#">Russisk i gymnasiet</a></p> <p><a href="#">Byen Pusjkin</a></p> <p><a href="#">Kalininograd</a></p> <p><a href="#">Diverse</a></p> <p><a href="#">Webmaster</a></p>	<h3>Januar 2004</h3> <h4>Nytårsfrokost - Læs mere her!</h4> <h4>Новогодний вечер 2004</h4> <p>Freddag den 23. januar kl. 19 i SID's lokaler, Søndergade 62, Aalborg</p> <p><b>По русский</b></p>  <h4>Ekstraordinært bestyrelsesmøde</h4> <p>Mandag den 19. januar kl. 17 i Huset</p>	<p><a href="#">Arrangementer</a></p> <p><a href="#">DRF Aalborg</a></p> <p><a href="#">Landsforeningen</a></p> <p><a href="#">Russiske links</a></p> <p><a href="#">Det russiske sprog</a></p> <p><a href="#">Russisk i gymnasiet</a></p> <p><a href="#">Byen Pusjkin</a></p> <p><a href="#">Kalininograd</a></p> <p><a href="#">Diverse</a></p>	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>April 2007</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Maj 2007</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Juni 2007</td> <td> <h4>Bestyrelsesmøde</h4> <p>Søndag den 10. juni kl. 11.30 hos Leo Pilgaard, Gildsigvej 20, Nørresundby</p> <h4>Generalforsamling</h4> <p>Søndag den 10. juni kl. 12.00 hos Leo Pilgaard, Gildsigvej 20, Nørresundby</p> <h4>Sommerfrokost</h4> <p>Søndag den 10. juni kl. 13.00 hos Leo Pilgaard, Gildsigvej 20, Nørresundby</p> </td> </tr> </table>	April 2007		Maj 2007		Juni 2007	<h4>Bestyrelsesmøde</h4> <p>Søndag den 10. juni kl. 11.30 hos Leo Pilgaard, Gildsigvej 20, Nørresundby</p> <h4>Generalforsamling</h4> <p>Søndag den 10. juni kl. 12.00 hos Leo Pilgaard, Gildsigvej 20, Nørresundby</p> <h4>Sommerfrokost</h4> <p>Søndag den 10. juni kl. 13.00 hos Leo Pilgaard, Gildsigvej 20, Nørresundby</p>
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During the meeting, apart from this first-hand knowledge about the way in which the organization functioned, I had a chance to participate in the planning of its upcoming events, such as the annual summer lunch. What this meant for my further participation in the life of the community in focus was that I was beginning to acquire the competence and, hence the confidence, of an equal participant. During the summer lunch, which took place in June 30, 2007, this shift in my positioning in interaction from an absolute, observing newcomer to an active participant, continued,

assisted by the fact that owing to the work, which I have carried out prior to my participation in co-present interactional encounters that I described earlier in this chapter, people present at the summer lunch were familiar with my research project. The aims and the form of my ethnographic work at this scene were largely similar to the ones that guided my research activities during the board meeting. My primary goal was to continue engaging with the social and interactional arrangements, which sustained whatever attachments and links people were forming to the organization that came into my sight. It was also important to me to begin to circumference (Scollon & Scollon, 2004) these attachments and links: to feel my way to the perimeters of the interaction that I was observing, i.e. to the discourses, which circulated through this interaction, to the orders and places, both inside and outside the current scenes, within which the interaction took place. Moreover, it was crucial to accomplish that in a way that would be joined with my partaking in the interaction and that would support my efforts to become recognised by the other members as its full-fledged participant. Therefore, just as at the previous scene, I did not use audio or video recording equipment using field notes as a way of registering most of the interaction and my observations as well as a photo camera and its video function, which merged well with my role as a voluntary photographer.

There were ten people present at the event – two board members with their families and six other members of the society. All of the actors appeared to feel comfortable and equally confident and competent participants of the interaction giving off the impression that this interaction order had been repeated often enough to become a regular and routinized aspect of their lives. However, it was also obvious that the interactional *with* (Goffman 1983, as cited in Scollon & Scollon 2003:108,217), which I was observing at the current ethnographic scene, was not the only one shared by the participants. During the conversations that took place at the lunch, the actors kept bringing up the experiences that occurred at the social and physical sites, which were clearly familiar to everybody present but which were outside the D-R Society. They kept referring to common friends and acquaintances, telling stories and jokes indicating the whole other set of connections and associations, which might at some point have originated in or have been cycling through the interaction orders, social settings, events and arrangements within the D-R Society, but had transgressed its framework stretching and relocating the social interaction. This observation that I have made as a result of registering and subsequently analytically examining the narrative structures and conversational themes, which emerged in the interaction in focus, were supported by other forms of data that I have managed to capture at this scene of my ethnographic work: such as members' generalizations and descriptions of individual experiences, which all pointed at the



decrease in the members' interest in participation in the interaction within the framework of the D-R Society's organization.

**Table 1: Members' Generalizations and Individual Experiences (Conversation at the Summer Lunch, the D-R Society in Aalborg, June 30, 2007).**

Members' Generalizations	Individual Experiences
<p>1. L: We are here because of our //husbands//.</p> <p>2. Masha: //yes//.. THEY want to come here.</p>	<p>1. L: Well.. I personally come here because I WANT to.</p> <p>2. &lt;&lt;That's a shame we don't meet as often as we used to&gt;&gt;.</p>

As illustrated by Table 1, L begins by generalizing about the character of her own and of the other participants' engagement with this interaction site. She states that *normatively* they participate in the society's events for the sake of their Danish husbands and not because they are interested in the interaction themselves. This generalization is confirmed in the next line by the other member, Masha, who agrees with L's statement by overlapping L with the affirmative "yes" at the point when she begins to mention the role of the "husbands" in their involvement with the D-R Society and by accentuating personal pronoun "they" that refer to the "husbands". Later in the conversation L contradicts her own statement in the account of her individual experience of being engaged with the site of interaction in focus. In Line 1, she emphasizes (by accentuating the verb "want") that she participates in the society's events solely because she chooses to do that. However, this account becomes quickly complemented by the other statement pronounced with an increased tempo that indicates the significance of this conversational insertion and that expresses L's regret about the decrease in the frequency of the interactional encounters within this site.

Hence, despite the aforementioned discrepancy in the actors' accounts, this description of individual experience still supports my own observations and members' generalizations with regard to the withering of the interactional activity within the framework of the D-R Society, which I also detected by examining the website archive (see Figure 4) and which had been earlier reported by the board members during previous meeting with them. Thus, by moving ethnographically and

analytically between diverse types of data (members' generalizations, individual experiences and researcher observations) as well as between diverse scenes (both computer-mediated and co-present), which are involved in the life of the community in focus and which I managed to identify and access, I began to triangulate the particulars of the social interaction that came into my view (this method of data triangulation as well as other methodological strategies are developed and discussed in the previous chapter of the thesis). Namely, that while the D-R Society in Aalborg might have figured at some point as an active node in the everyday criss-crossings of the actors in focus, those encounters, actions and activities, which were significant to them at that moment and which they continuously made relevant in the conversations that I was observing, were happening somewhere else.

Even more importantly, the discursive descriptions produced by the actors in the course of the conversations, in which I participated during the summer lunch, also pointed towards the reason for the aforementioned shift in the circumference and for the relocation of the interaction in focus. Below, I shall illustrate the preliminary analytical work, through which I arrived at the aforementioned observations. This work is carried out in relation to the segment of the conversational in which I participated and in which three other women present at the lunch discussed why there were so few people taking part in the events of the D-R Society. The segment in focus is represented in Transcript 1. In Chapter 5 of the thesis, I shall address in detail challenges of and solutions to representing multimodal translated data on which my investigation is based and which I begin to involve in the description and discussion of the ethnography of practice carried out in this chapter. For now, I shall merely refer to Appendix 1 for the convention, which I applied in transcribing this and other co-present conversational events.

*Transcript 1: Conversation during the Summer Lunch of the Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg, June 30, 2007*

1. L: The others they are just <too young>!
2. Masha: (laugh) YOUNG what do you <mean>? we are not old (laugh) no you
3. are right it is all about age...what would we talk about with these young
4. girls.
5. L: Right.. husbands and work permits this is all they are interested in.
6. Masha: They would just be interrupting us with all their questions.
7. L: You see we are passed this stage you know.. we have different interests.
8. They do not want to listen to us.
9. Masha: They do not want to hear about children and what they eat and how they
10. sleep.
11. V: <or about recipes>.
12. Many: (laugh)
13. L: No it is about AGE but it is also about [social status].
14. V: [Yes] [social status].
15. Masha: [And everybody]
16. thinks that thinks that social status is important.
17. L: And Ulrik's wife says the same the same with Chinese.. that is what
18. everybody thinks about when they meet.
19. And then I have met this guy from Estonia and he says the same it is all
20. about WHO you are in life.
21. RESEARCHER: What do you mean?
22. V: It is education.
23. L: \Right\.. \Education\.
24. And WHERE you are from..village or city.
25. RESEARCHER: So are you talking about social status before coming to Denmark or
26. now?
27. L: <<Before it's mostly before>>
28. MASHA: But also now!

As illustrated by the transcript above, in the conversational sequence in focus, the actors enumerate those factors: concerns, life interests, occupations, values, i.e. identity dimensions and aspects of the historical body that become significant when the interaction orders (both the current one and those to which the actors had repeatedly referred to during previous conversations) are being formed. The discussion is initiated by L who in Line 1 brings up age as a relevant criterion in making the decisions about participating in or avoiding specific social events and interactional contexts and accepting or rejecting attempts of the newcomers to join these established social arrangements. In Lines 2, Masha confirms this claim (“no you are right it is all about age”) as well as beginning to open up discursively this concept, i.e. what being old or being young means. As Lines 3 and 4 demonstrate being the same age means sharing experiences, narratives, knowledge, which form the basis for the interaction and the lack of which deprives this interaction of its content (“what would we talk about with these girls”). It also becomes clear that age as an identity dimension is closely intertwined with gender - in Line 3 and 4 being young becomes discursively paired up with being a “girl”. In the next conversational turn, L continues to develop this discursive linking of identity aspects. In Line 5, she begins by confirming Masha’s statement with the affirmative “right” whose significance is emphasized by a subsequent short pause, thereby connecting what she is about to say with the previous utterance, so that enumeration of concerns “husbands and work permits” becomes linked to the same pair of identity categories – being young and being a woman. This discursive connecting reveals that age here is constructed not only as a physiological category but also as a specific positioning in the migrant career. As Line 5 demonstrates, being young means not only being young in terms of physiological age but also in terms of the migrant experience – references to both “husbands” and “work permits” represent those pragmatic and bureaucratic concerns with which the newcomers have to deal shortly after moving to a new country. In Lines 6 and 7, Masha and L confirm this discursive framing by saying that they are “passed this stage now” and do not share the aforementioned set of concerns and interests. In the next conversational pair (Lines 8-11), this already complex junction of identity categories constructed by the participants become developed even more. For instance, In Line 9, Masha adds parenting concerns to the account of what becomes significant when the interaction orders are formed, while in Line 11, V complements this account by referencing to food-related practices (“or about recipes”). Both the increased pitch tone with which the phrase “or about recipes” is pronounced and the laughter following this line indicates the recognition of the allusion to the stereotypical, clichéd notion of what doing being a mother means, produced by mentioning recipes immediately after child-caring practices were made

relevant. In Line 13, by initiating her turn with “No”, L both confirms this recognition of the stereotypical image of a housewife and dismisses it, immediately following this precise and short closing of the ‘off top’ conversational turn by steering the conversation to its original topic (“it is about AGE”) and introducing the next criterion relevant to the making of interaction withs (“it is also about social status”). The significance of this new identity category becomes strongly corroborated by the other participants (Lines 14-19). This corroboration takes place through both members’ generalizations (“[And everybody] thinks that thinks that social status is important”, Lines 15, 16, “the same the same with Chinese”, Line 16, “that is what everybody thinks about when they meet”, Line 17, 18) and descriptions of individual experiences, such as the experiences of “Ulrik<sup>7</sup>’s wife” (Line 17) who come from China and of “this guy from Estonia” (Line 19). These rapid shifts about the descriptions of what is normatively done and descriptions of individual, hence more concrete, experiences as well as overlaps and repeated words and phrases point out that the participants are eager to validate the relevance of this particular identity dimension and that making this validation is significant to them. It is this enthusiasm with which the aforementioned validation took place and which was visible already during the conversation that encouraged me to ask (Line 21) what “social status” and “WHO you are in life” (Line 20) mean. As Line 24 demonstrates, among the factors, which define “WHO you are”, is “WHERE you are from”. The “where” here is constructed not in terms of national belonging but in terms of belonging to a particular social class, with such markers of these belonging as an education, access to the cultural, economic, social resources of big cosmopolitan cities, etc. (Lines 22-24). As it becomes obvious in Lines 27, 28 the significance of sharing this particular aspect of identity for organising interaction has not emerged as a result of transnational mobility but is extended into the new living context.

What the transcript above demonstrates is that social interaction in which the actors engage is formed around multiple and intersecting points of reference (such as age, parenting, food-related practices, social status, education, upbringing and life style (provincial or cosmopolitan), etc). Within the framework of the Danish-Russian Society, interaction is set up exclusively in terms of nationality. Therefore, as shown in the analysis above, while at some point of their migrational careers, the actors might form an attachment to this particular site through participating in the interaction orders and activities, which take place within it, visiting the website, using it as one of the resources in dealing with pragmatic and bureaucratic issues connected to their new living

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<sup>7</sup> One of the board members of Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg also present at the summer lunch

situations as well as, and much like me, a source of information about other physical and social sites and interaction orders, it cannot possibly sustain the interaction which so visibly transgresses the boundaries of national categories. The Danish-Russian Society sets up the social and organisational framework for transnational practices. Meanwhile, the practices in which the actors engage are not transnational a priori. The crossing of political, geographical and symbolic boundaries of nationalities takes place within and through multiplicity of everyday acts and banal engagements that involve categories and memberships that are not themselves national, and which inevitably lead the social interaction outside the boundaries of the society in focus (this becomes visible in the description of the events, which took place within the society over the last decade, and which is addressed earlier in this section).

Moreover, what the scene survey in focus has shown is that transnational networking and the way the actors construct and formulate their memberships also exceed the dichotomized national axis that underpins how transnational living is being construed within the framework of the D-R Society and which is articulated so explicitly in the society's website (see Figure 3). While the descriptions of actors' experiences, life stories and encounters that I have collected involve many accounts of and references to transnational associations, the nodes across which these associations are formed go far beyond the Danish-Russian binary. For instance, the crisscrossing of national borders in which Ulrik and his wife engage in the course of their daily lives is to some extent influenced by their shared interest in Russia (where they have met), its culture, language and history, as well as it is shaped by other aspects of their historical bodies, other places and forms of belonging (such as the fact that Ulrik's wife is Chinese). Transnational associations significant to the way another participant<sup>8</sup> in the summer lunch organizes her life across national and cultural borders are constructed not only along the Russian-Danish transnational vector, somewhat predictable due the fact that she is married to a Danish man; but they are also and very largely shaped by the fact that she is a descendant of German political or war prisoners sent to exile in Siberia in the beginning of the last century, by the fact that that she has friends who are Finish and that her daughter lives in France and, etc.

Thus, as a result of empirical and analytical work carried out within the framework of three ethnographic scenes (website of the Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg, board meeting and the summer lunch), by registering and collecting the aforementioned moments of transnational

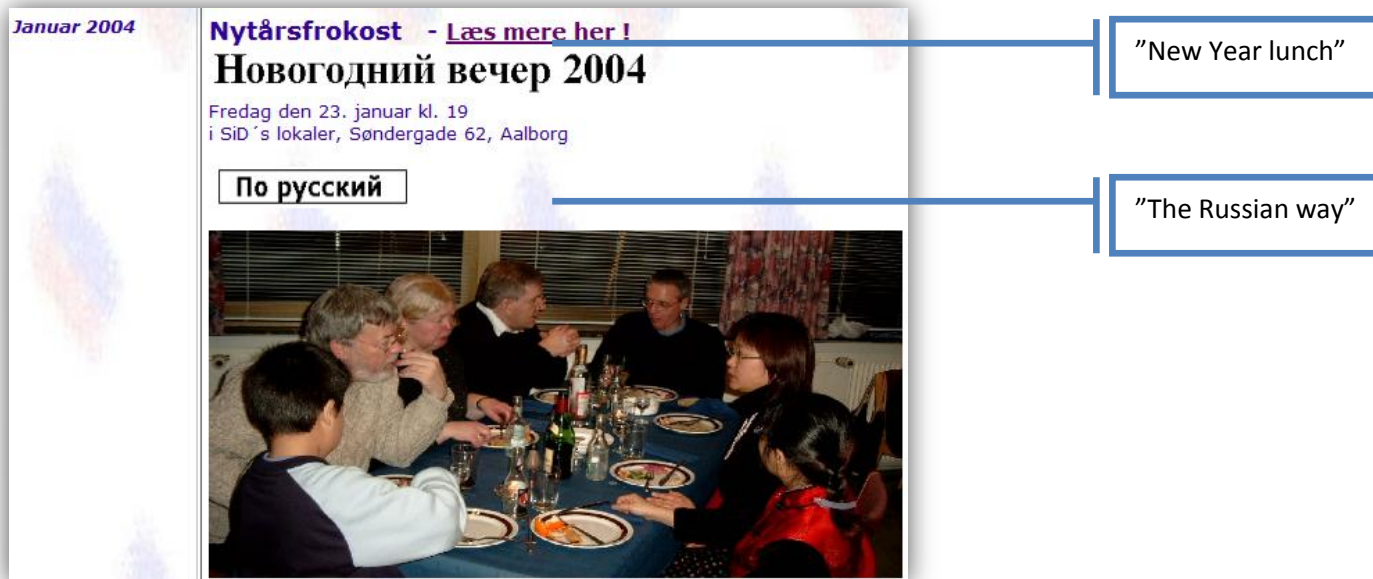
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<sup>8</sup> referred to as "V" in Transcript 1

networking, I have begun to work on approximating and mapping out its contours, i.e. those categories, points of reference, concerns and engagements that are involved in making the associations through which the actors cross and transgress national borders. Having established that the nodes across which the aforementioned networking takes place lead the interaction outside the organizational and interactional framework of the D-R Society, I have also begun to identify the discourses that cycle through this interaction as well as the physical and social sites within which the interaction happens.

One of the discourses that seemed to reoccur within multiple conversational contexts during the summer lunch as well as in the content of the D-R Society's website was prandial discourse. A large share of events that took place within the framework of the D-R Society was either organized around food (for instance, annual New Year and summer lunches) or involved food and food-related practices. In addition, multiple visual and verbal elements of prandial discourse are employed in the website content to produce references to banal Russianness<sup>9</sup>:

Image 14, Appendix III.1



<sup>9</sup> the role of prandial discourses and practices in the construction of national categories will be further discussed in the analytical chapter of the thesis



Image 15, Appendix III.1



Similarly, during the summer lunch of the D-R Society, food appeared to be one of the dominant themes, present both in its material form – in the variety of meals prepared by the participants, drinks that they have brought, containers in which the food was packed, as well in its discursive form – in the stories, narrations and descriptions which followed the participants’ introduction of the prepared dishes. For instance, one of the participants, represented in Transcript 1 as “L”, referred to her meal as “fusion” or “international” food accompanying the introduction of her dishes by the stories of her trips to France, Finland etc. Another participant (“V”) described her meal as “traditional Russian” bringing into the conversation narratives about her childhood in Russia. Masha, who brought organic yogurt and fruit for her son, has initiated the discussion about child health and ecological products. While within all the aforementioned contexts, food becomes discursively constructed differently; all of the actors’ descriptions presented above hold one essential aspect in common: they all take the concept of food beyond its original meaning, i.e. nourishment, linking it other discourses (discourse of health, discourse of nationality (references to “Russian food”) and of transnationality (references to “fusion” and “international” food), discourse of child-rearing, ecological discourse etc.), to other practices that mediate these discourses (travelling, parenting, shopping) and sites of engagement within which these practices take place.

Image 16: The Summer Lunch of the Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg, June 30, 2007



Image 17: The Summer Lunch of the Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg, June 30, 2007



Another set of discourses that were strongly represented in the conversations that took place during the summer lunch are discourses connected to child-rearing. Being a mother, I found it quite easy to relate to the conversational themes that concerned child-care and upbringing. Whether such conversational topics emerged at the above-mentioned intersection of child-rearing and prandial discourses or whether they were discursively framed by the discussions of health, organic products, child-care institutions, etc. I could engage in these conversations as an equal participant. This legitimacy of my participation was also recognized by the other participants, marked by the fact that my daughter and I were invited to the next of meeting of the Russian musical playgroup in Aalborg. I had come across the announcements of this playgroup earlier, while browsing through the website of the D-R Society (see Image 18).

Image 18, Appendix III.1



In the conversations during the summer lunch this playgroup was made relevant by the actors on multiple occasions and referred to as “Rusmam”. These repeated references as well as the fact that all of the participants appeared to know exactly what interaction orders, types of activities and physical places lie behind this discursive label, had clearly demonstrated that Rusmam represents a recognized, shared, regular and significant site of actors engagement and therefore was bound to become the next scene of ethnographic work. Being encouraged to join this site by those actors who already held established memberships of it, made my task of entering it much easier.

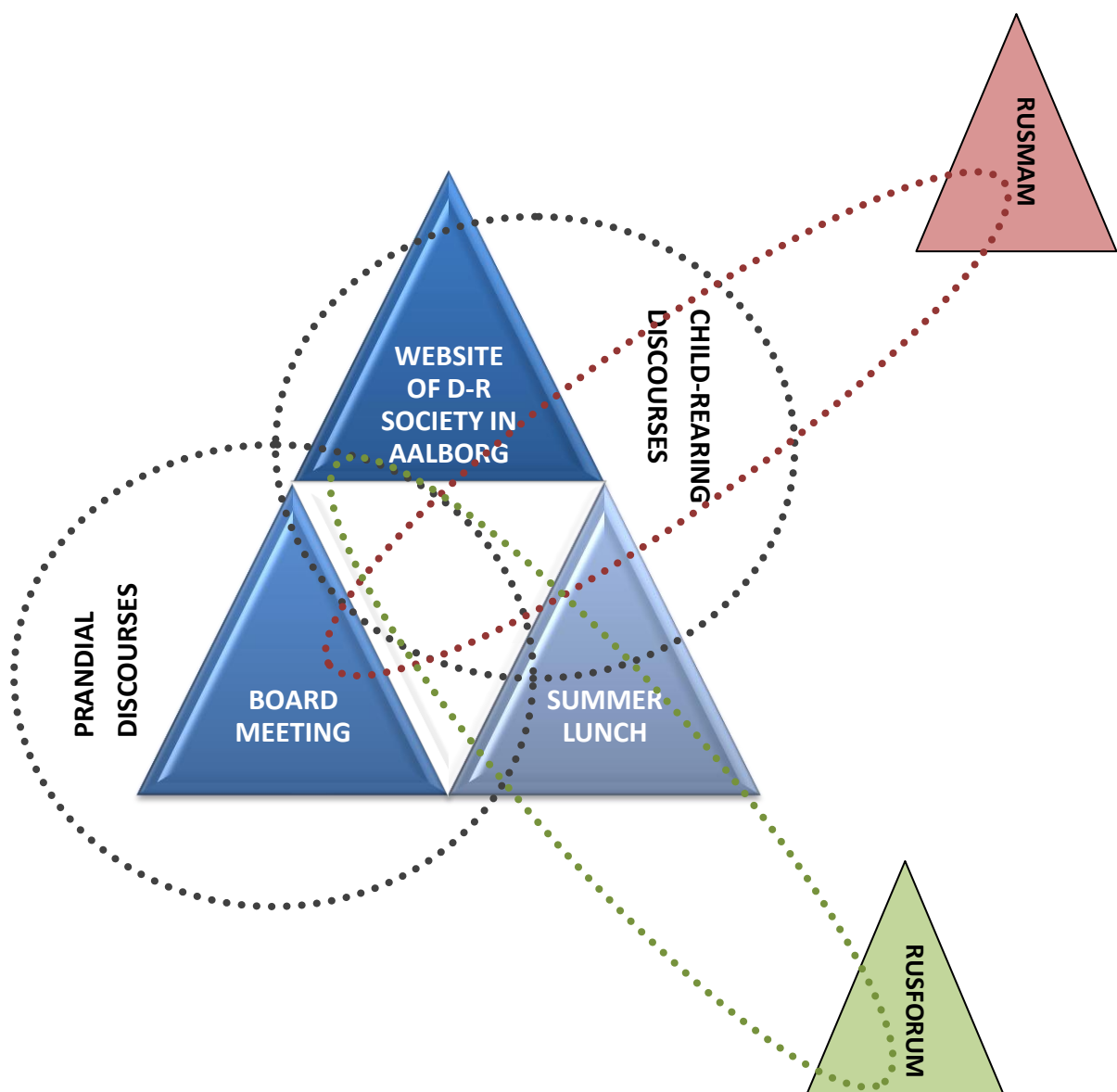
Another site, which I have managed to identify as a significant and active node in the nexus of actors’ everyday interactions and engagements, figured in the actors’ descriptions that I have registered during the summer lunch as “the site”. Such generic naming form points out at the

established and shared knowledge, in relation to the social, medial and semiotic place in focus, that the actors hold in common and that makes unnecessary any additional, more specific forms of address. It also indicates that the aforementioned discursive inscription has been used frequently enough prior to the current conversational context and outside the present interaction order to make this mode of reference routine and recognizable. It is only because I had asked what “the site” stands for that the participants began to clarify that this particular social place is a computer-mediated discussion forum, the so-called “Rusforum” (after the hostname in its web address) for Russian-speaking people who live, have lived or stayed in Denmark or are planning to do so. During the conversations at the summer lunch, this Internet-powered social place was mentioned a number of times, for instance, in relation to V’s account of how her daughter living in France sustain her connections to Denmark (how she communicates with her Russian-speaking friends who live or lived at some point and for different periods of time in Denmark, how she gets updates on the political and cultural news both in Russia and in Denmark, how she shares and exchanges her experiences of living in France with other Rusforum participants, etc.). The discursive elements of actors’ descriptions addressed above demonstrate that Rusforum represent another site regular and meaningful to the participants, and therefore relevant to my investigation.

Thus, the ethnographic and analytical activities involved in entering and establishing my zone of identification with the nexus of practices within which I carried out the examination of transnational networking took place across three ethnographic scenes (both computer-mediated and co-present): website of the Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg, a board meeting of the society in focus and the annual summer lunch for its members. In the course of the first six months of my PhD project, I had been empirically and analytically moving between the aforementioned social, physical and semiotic places approaching, identifying, describing, unpacking and engaging with those interaction orders, discourses and practices, both inside and outside the organizational and social framework of the D-R Society, which represented significant and regular nodes of actors’ interactions and engagements. In this process, my research activities had gradually shifted from the first probing contacts to the people involved in the social arrangements, which I had become aware of while establishing the issues of my study (see previous section), to increasingly concrete and interconnected ethnographic, participatory and analytical acts that came together in the form of intertwined scene surveys. These surveys were carried out through a set of methodological strategies, delineated earlier in the thesis, and included such ethnographic and analytical tools as participation, observation, unstructured interviewing, taking fieldnotes, a few short and subtle video-recording segments (using photo

camera) as well as the analysis of social interaction conducted by using multimodal, socio-semiotic, discourse approach developed in Chapter 3. Through this research work, I had begun to map out the discourses, social and physical sites and arrangements that were significant to the way the actors organized their everyday lives, i.e. that they made relevant, recognized and reproduced so that these discourses, sites and orders became regular and established nodes across which their daily actions and interactions were produced. In doing so, I had also identified the contours of my further ethnographic work, i.e. the sites within and across which I continued to navigate the nexus of transnational networking practices and discourses, whose circulation through this nexus I began to follow. As mentioned above and as illustrated in Figure 5, this included the computer-mediated social place “Rusforum” and musical playgroup in Aalborg “Rusmam” as well as discourses connected to food and child-rearing.

**Figure 5: Recognising the Nexus of Practices - Becoming Recognized within the Nexus of Practices**



### III. NAVIGATING THE NEXUS OF PRACTICE – CIRCUMFERENCING THE ANALYSIS

I began to engage with the identified sites and interaction by contacting Nadja, one of the members of Rusmam pointed out as a contact person in the playgroup announcement on the D-R Society's website, and telling her about my personal and research interests in participating in the Rusmam meetings. In contrast to my first contacts to the D-R Society in Aalborg, while trying to establish my zone of identification with this site of actors' engagement, I acted not as a complete outsider. Knowing Masha, one of the members of the D-R Society present at the summer lunch who was also an active member of Rusmam, and being able to mention that she had encouraged me join Rusmam meetings afforded me a certain level of familiarity with the social order in focus and have certainly assisted me in establishing my zone of identification with this site. In addition, my genuine interest in joining Rusmam meetings and becoming its active participant, grounded in my personal life situation (being a mother of two bilingual children and constantly looking for the ways to activate and support my children's competences in Russian language), did not only legitimize my involvement with Rusmam but it also helped me to become recognized by the other members as the full-fledged participant of this site.

At the same time I engaged with another site identified in the previous section – a computer-mediated social space “Rusforum”<sup>10</sup>. Having registered as a user of the website, I began to carry out the analysis of its content and functioning focusing on multisemiotic elements of hypertext construction in a way outlined in Chapter 3 of the thesis. As well as this, I became involved in a number of forum's discussions, in which I found myself personally interested and which I felt competent enough to participate in. Below I shall describe the participatory and research activities through which I proceeded with my ethnography of transnational networking practices navigating between and beyond the identified sites of actors' engagement, following semiotic and discursive traversals through which they organize their everyday practices and which mediate transnational networking. In addition, I shall account for how in this process I continued to circumference my analysis building up the data archive and triangulating those elements of it on which I would focus in the main analytical round presented in Chapter 7 of this thesis.

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<sup>10</sup> <<http://rusforum.dk/index.php?>>



### III.1. Rusforum

Rusforum represents a computer-mediated social space with an open access. This implies that absolute majority of the forum's functions are available to any Internet user without any registration requirements, i.e. reading, publishing (commenting, creating of topics, replying and quoting), search, etc. can be accomplished without login and password information. Acquiring registration provides the user with a few additional operational options, such as: auto-comment (generating an automatic reply by using the function buttons, e.g.: "complain", "thank"), access to a "private box" for private one-to-one communication, access to a chat room "fludilka"<sup>11</sup>, access to a floating window of an advanced help function "helper", etc. As mentioned above, to become a full-fledged participant of the site in focus, I chose to acquire a registration on the forum (i.e. a nickname, a login and a password), however, due to the ethical considerations, I shall limit my analysis to those elements of the forum that are open for unregistered access (this and other aspects of realising ethical responsibilities and ensuring participants privacy in relation to research of computer-mediated interaction will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6 of the thesis).

Rusforum emerged on the web six years ago. As current statistics of the forum report, there are 9.421 registered users and 291.045 posts generated across 5 main forums - "Information", "Serious Forums", "Free Forums", "Thematic Forums" and "Service Forums" - encompassing the total of 26 sub-forums, within which approximately 40.000 discussion topics have been created since Rusforum was launched. The forum is governed by five administration members: one administrator and four moderators – the users of the forum volunteered, encouraged by the other users or appointed by the administrator. The interaction on Rusforum is thus monitored, controlled and regulated by the moderators, each of them responsible for particular subforums, and disciplined through a behavioural code that includes a set of rules, which for instance, prohibit flame, flood and spam, and a set of corrective measures applied to the users who break the rules, such as system of warnings and bans. Actions of the forum's administration can be discussed, negotiated and objected to in the allocated interaction space referred to as "The Centre of Users' Support". Users' profiles include the following options: nickname, avatar, gender, date of birth, country, place of living, interests, registration date, number of comments, e-mail address and other contact information, out of which only a nickname is required, while the rest is optional information, which can also be

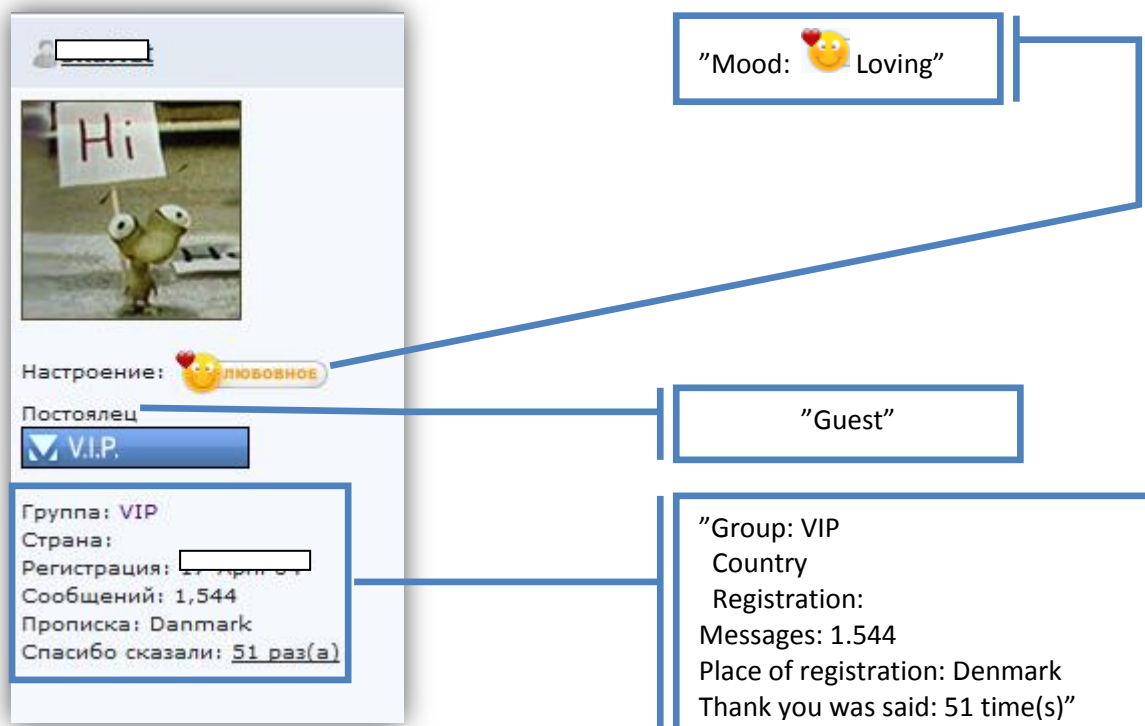
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<sup>11</sup> "Fludilka" – "флудилка" (Russian), from the English "flood"



hidden in the ‘open access’ mode. Other resources of identity construction within the social space of Rusforum include a signature line, which becomes attached to all of the posts generated by a particular user and, therefore, together with a nickname can serve as an identity marker, as well as the “mood” option, which signals a particular attitude and emotional state and which functions as a discursive equivalent of non-verbal behaviour, such as facial expression, gestures, gaze, etc., unavailable in computer-mediated interaction. In addition, the users of Rusforum are assigned markers of their status within the social space in focus (such as “guest”, “VIP”, “user”, “inhabitant”, etc.) generated automatically on the basis of two criteria of their participation – the time during which they have been registered on the forum and their interactional activity (measured by the number of generated posts). Image 19 represents an example of the user’s profile field as it appears in a post frame of a discussion topic (personal information, such as a nickname and registration date is blocked in the image due to the concerns for the participant’s privacy).

Figure 6



As discussed in the previous chapter of the thesis, Hypermedia affords exceptionally rich and increasingly evolving resources for meaning production and for organizing social interaction in ways that both link together established semiotic means and forms or modality and generate new

semiotic fields and formats of social interaction. Rusforum, as one of the social spaces powered by Internet and supported by Hypermedia, represent the site of actors' engagement, within which social interaction becomes organized through traversing which the actors carry out across multiple conversational sequences, discourses and modalities, back and forward in time and in space. This matrilineal, non-sequential, inter-semiotic mode of social interaction is enabled within the framework of the site in focus by a number of organizational functions and layout features. These features include, for instance, citation function realized through the "cite" button in the commenting field of each post and post number marking each post both numerically and through automatically generated direct hyperlink. The aforementioned functions allow the forum's participants to navigate through, construct and maintain numerous conversational sequences (see Figure 7) generating conversational pairs that are dispersed both in time (often for weeks and months) and in space (interrupted by and intertwined with other conversational sequences within the same discussion topic or/and across multiple topics and subforums).

Figure 7: Multi-sequential Conversational Organization in Computer-Mediated Interaction on Rusforum<sup>12</sup>, Appendix III.2

Сообщение #133

Цитата(Shanel) [redacted]  
точно!!!  
я вот секи и довольна цюбой - без одежды!!!!

Цитата(Лина) [redacted]  
Зачен о себе говорить, когда тут каждый второй тебе и в лицо и за глаза [redacted]

Dear Лина!  
Любая красивая девушка (я, ни в коем разе, не подразумеваю dear Shanel, дабы не персонифицировать кого-либо и, тем паче, не дать повода для разных необоснованных толков; прибавлю: что, конкретно, сие персонаж я не лицезрел воочию), так вот любая красивая дива, готова к совершенно любому комментарию со стороны окружающих. Мало того, негативные высказывания только сильнее утвердят девушку в её же уверенности, и, возможно, непереоцененном её самой, внутренней сексуальности. Ведь красота в этом аспекте может быть, как субъективной, так и объективной. Субъективная красота – это когда девушка сама себе заявляет и свято верит в это. Апропо, очень часто такие самозаявления являются самозащитой от того, что на самом деле нет и в помине. А, объективная красота – это когда окружающие подтверждают факт её красоты. А в какой форме это происходит, уже не столь важно. В одних случаях это выражено в виде разного рода комментариев от представителей её же пола, и в противовес, комментариях со стороны противоположного пола. Любая внешняя реакция (при этом не важно какого она будет характера) – есть явное подтверждение, что персонаж заметили, а значит, она – есть, и это уже невозможно отрицать.

Цитата(ноч) [redacted]  
Шанель  
При твоём правильном образе жизни и тренировках на тебе все должно сидеть в тютельку, я думаю. Не одежда красит человека, а как раз наоборот.

Dear почтенная жопошница тата!  
А никто и не оспаривает этот факт.  
К слову, сразу вспомнил мысль, которую изложил доктор Равик в романе Эрика Ренарка «Триумфальная арка», увидев свою возлюбленную Жоан Мадю, что она шла в каком-то невзрачном пальтишке, но её красота и то, с каким достоинством она носила это пальто, создавало впечатление, что ..... (за точность текста не гарантирую, но смысл именно в том, что на красивой девушке, которая носит даже равня, но с большим достоинством - всё будет идти и всё красиво.)

Цитата(Tanuki) [redacted]  
У меня просто шок, когда вижу датчанок в драных колготках...  
Мне б было рядом с такой девушкой пройти стыдно...Неужели это нормально?  
Видно, я еще не настолько интегрировался, чтобы равные колготки меня не шокировали. А еще когда штаны заправляют в носки.

Dear Tanuki!  
А я никогда бы не имел шок. Не вижу ничего стыдного. Мне видится, неважно в чём пришёл объект твоего интереса, главное: он пришёл, и пришёл - к тебе по взаимной договорённости и, наверное, взаимному интересу. Вот то, что сам, мужчина, должен быть в соответствии своего стиля – это верно, а девушка может экспериментировать над собой, как ей заблагорассудится и как она хочет, на то она и девушка! Пусть приходит в драных колготках! По мне: лучше в чулках, особенно когда слегка виден кант – это так пикантно! А драные они, или в зацепах – не важно!  
К тому же, девушки значительно лучше нас, мужчин, знают и понимают: как ей надо выглядеть и какой ситуации чему должен соответствовать её дресс-код. Здесь надо ей отдать карт бланш.

Цитата(ноч) [redacted]  
а им как-то все равно, что вам стыдно.... Они с вами ходить не собираются... У них комплексов нет.

Совершенно верно! На всё надо смотреть с большим юмором и объективным принятием господствующей тенденции в одежде девушек, главное само наличие той, девушек, а какая на них одежда это вопрос N-ый.

Цитата(не) [redacted]  
боже как-то сложно жить... А штаны с открытой полкой до половины бороды - тоже шокируют? В Саудовской аравии тетки ходят с паранджой - очень прилично, и нулики тоже закрыты в халаты. Там вы хоть нудиться не будете.

Цитата(То) [redacted]  
А штаны с открытой полкой - ну это ничего

Вот видите, dear Tanuki! Сразу согласился на штаны с открытой полкой до половины бороды – и не шокирует! Не шло, если с Вами встретится прелестная шалунья в такой пикантном виде. Вы сразу же начнёте проверять: равные у неё чулки, или нет? Ш-ш-шалунья!!!  
Не знаю Вашего ответа, но свои виды я уже изложил.  
К тому же не забывайте, что девушки могут Вас просто тестировать и смотреть на Вашу реакцию. Ведь неизвестно, что у них в голове! Если уж сам 3.Фрейд не смог постичь, то куда уж нам?

Цитата(Н) [redacted]  
А вот мне нравится , когда узкие джинсы заправлены в высокие сапоги , сама всю прошлую зиму так проходила ( к тому же , такая одежда весьма практична в холода и дожди ) . Только сапоги , естественно , нужно выбирать не слишком вызывающие : а то , обув ненто из PVC , да и на километровых шпильках - можно сойти за представительницу весьма специфической профессии :-)

Dear Магайя!  
... « можно сойти за представительницу весьма специфической профессии » ... - мне думается это необоснованные предвзвешенности. Не беспокойтесь – не поднимает! А если кто поднимает и решится спросить, я полагаю, что ответить у Вас найдётся такону «любопытатель» , чтоб больше не спрашивал?

К тому же, мужчинам (не буду утверждать за всех) часто импонирует, когда девушка может быть в какой-то момент развратницей, но, и здесь важно: лично для него, при определённых и располагающих к тому, обстоятельствах.

Цитата(Fe) [redacted]  
я помню, когда я первая (ну не знаю, первая ли, по крайней мере, в нашем городе никого так не видела) начала так одеваться (ещё в институте училась) - джинсы заправять в высокие сапоги (потому что мне нравились в галерийский стиль), на меня так странно смотрели, т.к. никто тогда так не одевался, а сейчас это вошло в моду.

Ничего удивительного, dear Ferrari Modena!  
Женская обувь в представлении многих мужчин (не буду утверждать за всех), это не только обувь – но и заключительная деталь женской ноготы. Красивых ног красная обувь смотрится всегда шикарно.

Соизерцая такой вид, сравниваешь себя с посетителем Эйфелевой Башни: Чем выше – тем захватывающе!

CP 1: CITATION 1 ( PARTICIPANT 1)

CP 1: CITATION 2 (PARTICIPANT 2)

CP 1: REPLY 1

CP 2: CITATION 1 (PARTICIPANT 3)

CP 2: REPLY 1

CP 3: CITATION 1 (PARTICIPANT 4)

CP 3: REPLY 1

CP 4: CITATION 1 (PARTICIPANT 3)

CP 4: REPLY 1

CP 5: CITATION 1 (PARTICIPANT 3)

CP 5: CITATION 2 (PARTICIPANT 4)

CP 5: REPLY 1

CP 6: CITATION 1 (PARTICIPANT 5)

CP 6: REPLY 1

CP 7: CITATION 1 (PARTICIPANT 6)

CP 7: REPLY 1

As Figure 7 illustrates, participants of Rusforum extensively employ these functions to produce compound messages that allow them to be engaged simultaneously with multiple conversational events and multiple interaction withs (the post above includes 9 citations, through which the authors produces seven conversational turns distributed across six interaction orders). The making of these interaction orders is also supported by other functions of the forum, such as “lichka<sup>13</sup>” or “private box” and a possibility to become friends with other participants, which fixes particular interaction orders by providing its members with an opportunity to leave personal comments on each other’s profile, notifying them about each other’s presence in the forum, etc.

Whether the aforementioned interaction orders are marked and made durable through such “friendship” function or whether the interaction withs emerge in the context of a particular discussion topic or only for as long as a particular conversational sequence lasts, they are not limited to the social space of Rusforum. The on-going traversing between diverse computer-mediated and co-present sites of engagement through which the actors organize their interaction is visible both in explicit elements of the functioning of the forum, such as sub-forum “Meeting and Hanging Out” with the fluctuating number of topics (10-15) devoted to the planning and discussion of various face-to-face social events (parties, religious events, sport events, playgroups for children, etc.). As well as this, it is made evident through more subtle discursive references that regularly emerge in the actors’ interaction, such as sudden shifts in the form of address – when in the course of a conversation the usage of a nickname, as a normative form of address, becomes substituted by the usage of a first name (unavailable in the participant’s profile) indicating that the participants involved share experiences outside the current interactional context, or numerous allusions to these experiences, for instance reminders to upload the photographs from the “last get-together”, exchange of opinions about the concerts, religious services, sport events, which have been attended together, etc. Similarly, the actions that circulate through this site of actors’ engagement as well as the practices that these actions mediate are neither unique formats of engagement exclusive to “on-line” spaces nor mere extensions of “off-line” acts and activities. The ways in which the actors organize their lives are not split by the on-line/off-line divide but are carried out at the interface between multiple sites of engagements that rely on multiple mediational resources some of them involving technology others not. By organizing their practices across these sites, the actors link

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<sup>13</sup> Lichka” - “личка” (Russian), from Russian “личный” – “private” (English)

them in a way that makes the on-line/off-line distinction inadequate. This becomes evident in relation to the nexus of practice that is the focus of my investigation.

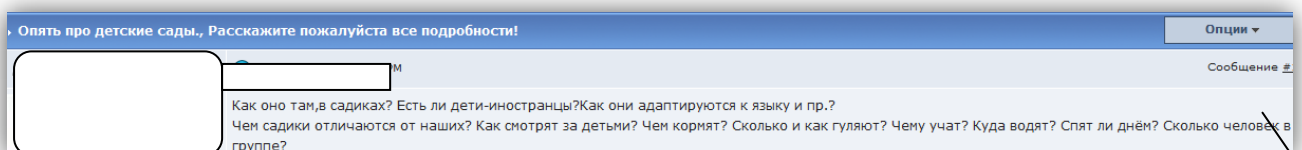
Already in the first superficial browsing through Rusforum, I came across a number of references to the other site of actors' engagement that I identified through the earlier steps of my ethnographic work - Rusmam. Discussion themes related to children dominate the majority of forum's topics. Besides the sub-forum "Home and Family" specifically allocated to the conversations about "parents and children", the issues of child-rearing penetrate the interaction in each and every other discussion room, whether it is thematically marked as "Linguistic", "Spiritual", "Sport" or "Automobile". It is in the course of these numerous conversations that I could trace the emergence of Rusmam – first, as single remarks made by different participants in different topics about the everyday challenges (linguistic, pedagogical, bureaucratic, etc.), which they tackle in raising their children, later, as conversational sequences within which the actors articulated the need in what they referred to as "groups" and "meetings" for the "Russian-Danish", "Russian-speaking" or "Russian-understanding" children and their parents. Having searched the forum for these discussions and having traced their developments across diverse topics, I have detected that in the course of three-four months the aforementioned abstract remarks and short conversational exchanges had turned into the discussion topics within which the possibility of constructing a social place or social places for such "meetings" became more and more concrete. This is visible not only in the fact that the conversations began to involve suggestions about temporal, placial and organizational arrangements through which these meetings could be realized and made regular but also in the shift in the discursive labels, which the participants used to refer to the meetings: the references to "the idea" and "the initiative" became gradually substituted by the allusions to "the group", which in 2007 was specified as "Russian-speaking mothers group in Aalborg and places nearby".

Thus, the sites, which in the actors' descriptions registered during the previous scene surveys (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 157) appeared to be separated both placially and meditatively, turned out to be closely intertwined through the nexus of actors' practices: discursive and social acts and actions that enable these practices and concerns, which drive and bring these practices into being. As identified above, the practices and discourses, which form and sustain the link between the Rusforum and Rusmam to a large extent involve the matters of child-care and child-upbringing. By following analytically how these matters are being discursively approached by the actors in the course of diverse discussions (such as "Our babies", "Mothers to be", "And again about

kindergartens., Please tell all the details!”, “What are you having for dinner/supper?”, etc.) I have identified that for the actors, doing being a parent very much involves ongoing movement between diverse categories and memberships, which they carry out as they engage in the routine and banal acts of which everyday life is composed (such as feeding and dressing their children, choosing a school or a child-care institution, celebrating holidays, etc.).

Moreover, I have established that while these memberships frequently become discursively positioned as “our” and “their” (which implies presence of two fixed sets of meanings, norms and modes of doing), those practices, aspects of realities, discourses and materialities of which these categories are made up and how the actors shift between and intertwine them transgress this binary national distinction. As the excerpts below demonstrate, the categories, which the actors make relevant are not solid, fixed and impenetrable. Rather, they are compound “lists of items that persons know in common” (Sacks, 1992, p. 82) and that are being constantly negotiated and re-negotiated. The excerpts illustrate how this is done in the course of one conversational sequence devoted to the discussion of kindergartens in Denmark<sup>14</sup>. The discussion is originated in the topic “And again about kindergartens., Please tell all the details!”. The author of the topic asks the other participants:

### Excerpt 1



Опция ▼

Сообщение #

Как оно там, в садиках? Есть ли дети-иностранцы? Как они адаптируются к языку и пр.?  
Чем садики отличаются от наших? Как смотрят за детьми? Чем кормят? Сколько и как гуляют? Чему учат? Куда водят? Спят ли днём? Сколько человек в группе?

How are the things there, in the kindergartens? Are there children-foreigners? How are children getting used to the language and stuff?

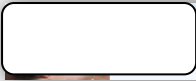
How are the kindergartens different from ours? How are children being taken care of?  
How much time do they spend outside? What are they being taught? Where do they go?  
Do they sleep? How many children are there in the group?

<sup>14</sup> <<http://rusforum.dk/index.php?showtopic=16476&st=40>>, see Appendix III.3

In the message above the author introduces three categories significant to the aforementioned aspect of doing being a parent: the category ‘our’ (“How are the kindergartens different from ours”), the category of ‘they’ or ‘their’, which is not directly named in the post but which is implied through listing of all the points on which (their) system of institutional child-care could be different from the “ours” (such as language, daily routines, social and physical conditions, pedagogical approach and those knowledges that children would acquire) as well as the category of ‘foreigners’ (“children-foreigners”), which is made relevant but which remains ambiguous with regard to how the author relates to this category.

This ambiguity is picked up by another participant who in the next conversational turn confronts the author of the previous comment regarding this ambiguity by inserting into the utterance (somewhat sarcastically) “by the way” and then assigning both him/herself and the other participant to the category of ‘foreigners’ (“There are many foreigners, we, by the way, are also foreigners”).

### Excerpt 2



У меня двое старших ходят второй месяц. Очень им нравится. Язык потихоньку учат, вообще как-то без проблем. Вот недавно ходили в зоопарк, еще куда-то ездили. Иностранцев много, мы, впрочем, тоже иностранцы 😊

My two oldest children have been going to the kindergarten for two months now. Like it very much. Learning the language, in general no problems somehow.

Went to the zoo for instance not long time ago, somewhere else.

There are many foreigners, we, by the way, are also foreigners.

Thus, in the conversational pair above the actors negotiate what the category of ‘our’ means – whether it implies being different from ‘their’ in a way that is unique to the Danish-Russian transnational context (‘our’) or being different from ‘their’ in multiple ways (‘foreign’). The next conversational turn (Excerpt 3) keeps nuancing this binary distinction adding another category- ‘bilingual’ (“my bilingual children”, “there are five bilingual children in our group”), which is grounded not in the notion of nationality but in belonging to a particular linguistic system and which, as opposed to previously discussed discursive construction of ‘our’ and ‘foreign,’ is not



defined as completely ‘different from their’ (meaning Danish) but as an intermediate category positioned between ‘foreigner’ and ‘pure Danish’. As the participant’s inscription demonstrates, this positioning takes places not only through discursive production that happens in the conversational context in focus but also in the interaction outside the current computer-mediated site – during the authors conversations with the kindergarten’s teachers.


### Excerpt 3

Пропитана-ч-дидере  
Спасибо сказали: [Z\\_paz\(a\)](#)  
из-за языка проблем не было. пока не пошли в садик, по-русски говорили и понимали лучше, чем по-датски. за месяц-два оба языка сравнялись, потом датский стал явно доминирующим. сейчас оба языка примерно одинаковые. в садике воспитатели проводили языковое тестирование, сказали, что по уровню развития языка мои двуязычные дети ничем не хуже "чисто датских". у нас в группе пятеро двуязычных деток, с ними периодически дополнительно занимаются, стишки учат и т.п.

There were no problems with language, until we started in the kindergarten, we spoke and understood Russian better than Danish, during one month both language competences became the same, then Danish came clearly to dominate, now both languages are approximately the same, in the kindergarten there was language testing and the teacher said that my bilingual children are no worse than “pure Danish”, there are five bilingual children in our group, there receive some extra teaching from time to time, learning poems, etc.

While the aforementioned discursive descriptions (Excerpts 1-3) operate with the essentialized notion of “pure” and fixed nationalities from which one can be more and less in one or in many ways different, the comments below illustrate how the actors make visible and address the arbitrariness and ambivalence of these categories.


## Excerpt 4

Настроение:   
Queen of f.cking everything

никто не разводит панику, просто мы вышли из другой системы и из другой страны со своими представлениями о том, что правильно. Кому-то проще подстроится под систему, кому-то тяжелее, кому-то вообще невозможно.

Nobody is panicking, it's just that we came out of a different system, with different understanding about what is right.

## Excerpt 5

 да, а насчет того, к чему барышни постсоветского пространства привыкли...лично я ни одного дня не провела в советском детском саду и , скорее всего, никогда бы не отдала туда ребенка, живя в (даже!) Москве. Мифы и легенды про лучшее питание и воспитание в детских учреждениях России и

Страна:  
Регистрация: 7-February 08  
Сообщений: 1,635  
Спасибо сказали: 434 раз(а)

ну откуда вы знаете, что это легенды про сады в РФ, если сами там не были и детей туда не отдавали? я и сама была, и брата меньшого водила, и своего.. и куча подружек там, так что на самом деле реально есть с чем сравнить..

Regarding what the ladies of the post-Soviet space are used...personally I haven't spent a day in the Soviet kindergarten and wouldn't have sent my child there (even) if it was in Moscow. [...]

And how do you know about the myths of kindergarten in RF, if you haven't been there yourself and haven't sent your children there? I was there and my younger brother was there and my own...and whole bunch of friends there, so I have something to compare with...

In Excerpt 4 (representing the comment posted within the same discussion topic<sup>15</sup>), one of the forum's participants links the concerns in relation to child-upbringing that are shared within the framework of this conversational context to the diversity and difference of the normative regimes with which the actors deal in the course of their lives. While in Excerpt 5 (also in the same discussion), the participants highlight that the multiplicity of these regimes and possible discrepancies between them are grounded not only in the national memberships but also in the

<sup>15</sup> "And again about kindergartens., Please tell all the details!", see Appendix III.3

diversity of other aspects of life-time experiences. For instance, what categorisations the pronoun ‘our’ implies in relation to such aspect of child-rearing as kindergarten system is not identical across the actors’ accounts because the actors’ experiences of this system vary in time (Soviet, Post-Soviet or RF<sup>16</sup>) and in character (whether they are acquired through narratives or “myths” or first-hand, whether they are made of one perspective and one form of practice, such as attending kindergarten, or of multiple perspectives and practices, such as attending kindergarten, taking your younger brother and your children there, hearing accounts of friends and family members, etc.). That is – the complexity of categorizations made by the participants is anchored in the diversity of *category-bound activities* (Sacks, 1992), which they invoke and involve in the production of these categorizations. Moreover, at it becomes visible in Excerpt 5 the lists of experiences and segments of realities, which become negotiated in relation to the making of seemingly national categories of ‘our’, ‘foreigner’, Danish, etc., involve the aspects of identity, which are not nationality-bound, such as social status, which one of the participants makes relevant through the discursive reference to Moscow “(even) if it was in Moscow” as a token of higher economic and social position (see Excerpt 5).

Similarly Excerpts 6-8 demonstrate how the actors construct and traverse across these loose categories and how in the process of negotiating the meanings assigned to these categories they challenge each other making transparent their shifting, arbitrary character. In Excerpt 6, one of the participants moves away from the ‘our –their’ binary framed in terms of Russianness and Danishness by extending one of the sides of this dichotomy from national ‘Danish’ to transnational ‘Scandinavian’ (“Scandinavian youngsters”).

#### Excerpt 6

Группа: VIP  
Страна: у скандинавских отроков одни из самых высоких показателей по "удовлетворенности" от дет. сада/школы в целом, можно посмотреть статистику в интернете - так что....и да, зависит все, конечно, от родителей - развивать и развлекать, что я считаю вполне логичным. imho  
Регистрация: 31-Май 04  
Сообщений: 2,171  
Прописка: Копенгаген  
Спасибо сказали: 172 раз(а)

[...] Scandinavian youngsters have some of the highest reports of "satisfaction" with kindergarten/school in general, you can look at the statistic on the internet – so ... and yes, it all depends on the parents of course – to develop and to entertain, which I believe to be rather logical, IMHO

<sup>16</sup> Russian Federation

In the following comments this category becomes confirmed by being transferred onto the description of another experience, attributed to another identity dimension – doing being a mother (“Scandinavian maman”) – where usage of the discursive label “maman” conveyed through transliteration of the French equivalent produces a sarcastic effect.

### Excerpt 7

Гости  
Страна:

... скандинавская маман, как правило, напоминает генерального секретаря ООН по спокойствию, последовательности и отключенности от детских воплей.

Особенно удовлетворенная улыбка на лице "скандинавской маман", наблюдающей истерику малыша, потрясает как в фильме ужаса.

[Citation]: ...Scandinavian maman, as a rule, reminds of a general secretary, in her calmness, consistency and ability to switch off child's screams

Particularly satisfied smile "Scandinavian maman" has when she is watching her child having a tantrum, it is as disturbing as horror movies

However, already in the next post (Excerpt 8), this brief stabilization of the category becomes disrupted (by the demands made by one of the participants not to “generalize about Scandinavian children”) and the category itself becomes split up again into national memberships (ironically, it also happens through the construction of a generalization, now involving Swedish children: “Swedish children in fact don’t throw tantrums in public”).

*Excerpt 8*

Я бы не сказала. В нашем садике детям даже не разрешается бегать по коридору и громко разговаривать, не говоря уж о том, что каждый день их обучают, как в школе.  
Согласна с Ватсон, надо искать садик, не факт, что нужный найдется прямо рядом с домом, но чем-то придется жертвовать, в наш садик из других коммун, к примеру, возят.  
И не стоит обобщать насчет скандинавских детей, шведские дети на самом деле не устраивают истерик в общественных местах.

а я и не обобщала скандинавских детей, заметьте, про шведских ни слова не сказала..

[Citation]: [...] And please don't generalize about Scandinavian children, Swedish children in fact don't through tantrums in public.

And I don't generalize Scandinavian children, I have said a word about Swedish by the way...

The categorical work, illustrated in the analysis above, is also visible in relation to another set of discourses, which circulate across a large share of Rusforum's discussion and which I also identified in the course of the previous scene surveys – prandial discourses. Just at the issues of child-care, matters related to food and the acts and routines that are associated with it are debated across numerous topics, both explicitly allocated for food-related discussions (such as “What are you having for dinner/supper?”, “Tea, coffee, wanna dance”, “Danish sandwiches”, “Red caviar”, “Tableware”, etc.) and within conversational frameworks, which are not thematically marked as prandial and within which food-related discourses become intertwined with the discourses of child-care, health, economic relations, travel, etc. Just as in the case of child-care discourses, the construction of prandial discourses involves on-going and dynamic categorizing of realities connected to food-related practices.

One of the participants in the discussion topic “What are you having for dinner/supper?”<sup>17</sup> commented: “ “In our family the national border goes through the refrigerator”. This analytical observation made by the participant both summons and confirms the argument, which I make both theoretically and analytically throughout the research project and which resides in fact that

<sup>17</sup> <<http://rusforum.dk/index.php?showtopic=4795>>, Appendix III.4

transnational living is organized not through an independent set of practices disattached from the other aspects of actors' engagement but through banal acts and activities anchored in the concerns of their everyday lives. As discussed in Chapter 2 of the thesis, in making this argument, I challenge the early, conventional conceptualizations of transnationality as "trans-statal" (Kearney, 1995, p. 548) abstractly-defined flows of humans, materialities and capital that take place at the segregated scales of political and personal, global and local, macro and micro or as a perpetual movement between two sets of 'national' – 'home' and 'host', 'here' and 'there' (Basch, Schiller, & Blanc, 1994; King A. , 1997; Portes, Guarnizo, & Landolt, 1999; Guarnizo & Smith, 2006). In contrast to the aforementioned perception on transnational mobility preoccupied with isolating and splitting up transnational experiences, within the framework of my project, I introduce the concepts of transnational networking and transdiscursivity to highlight conceptually and to examine analytically complex, dense and dynamic interconnecting between multiple categories, memberships and practices that mediate transnational living.

As I followed multiple conversational sequences focusing on the food-related matters and the construction of prandial discourse within these conversations, I came across many critical insights into the logics of transnational living produced by the actors. Similarly to the comment mentioned above, these insights generate multiple and diverse discursive associations between prandial practices and transnational mobility. The excerpts below illustrate one of such association, which have been made and made relevant so frequently that it became recognizable and reproducible. This association involves *tvorog*<sup>18</sup> - a dairy product popular in Russia. From the very first days of Rusforum's existence, its discussions were flooded with the inquiries about this product, advices about the places where it could be bought, discussions of its Danish, German, French, Italian and Greek equivalents, suggestion with regard to how it could be produced, etc. By the time I entered the forum, the aforementioned conversational themes had been circulating across its topics long enough to stabilize 'tovorog' as a recognizable discursive token of migrational experiences in general and the concerns of the "newcomers" in particular (and, possibly, as an act of "trolling"<sup>19</sup> producing a disruption in the site).

Excerpts below are extracted from one of the conversational contexts within which this aforementioned discursive role of the food product becomes visible. The topic is initiated by one of

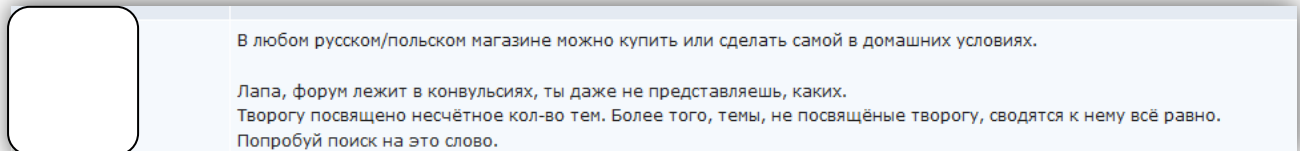
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<sup>18</sup> "Tvorog" (from Russian "творог") – Russian dairy product, somewhat similar to cottage cheese

<sup>19</sup> "trolling" (Internet jargon) – a provocative act (such as posting off-topic, inflammatory or spam-containing messages), which disrupts interaction in computer-mediated social spaces (such as forums, chat rooms, blogs, etc.)

the Rusforum's participants who, as she puts it, "Being with a child began to crave" tvorog and who inquires in the topic title: "Were can I buy tvorog in Copenhagen?", Those who know, please, answer me"<sup>20</sup>. Some of the responses generated by this call are presented below:

#### Excerpt 9



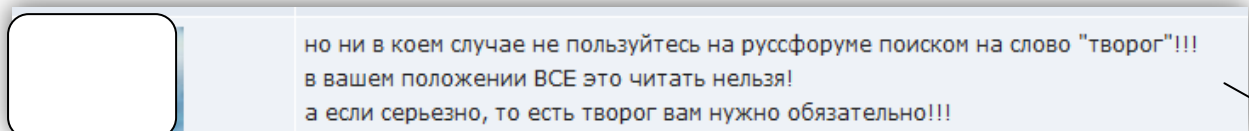
You can buy it in any Russian/Polish shop or make it yourself

[NAME OF THE PARTICIPANT], forum is down in convulsions, you can't even imagine how bad the convulsions are.

Countless topics are devoted to tvorog. Moreover, those topics not devoted to tvorog come down to it anyway.

Try to search the forum for this word

#### Excerpt 10



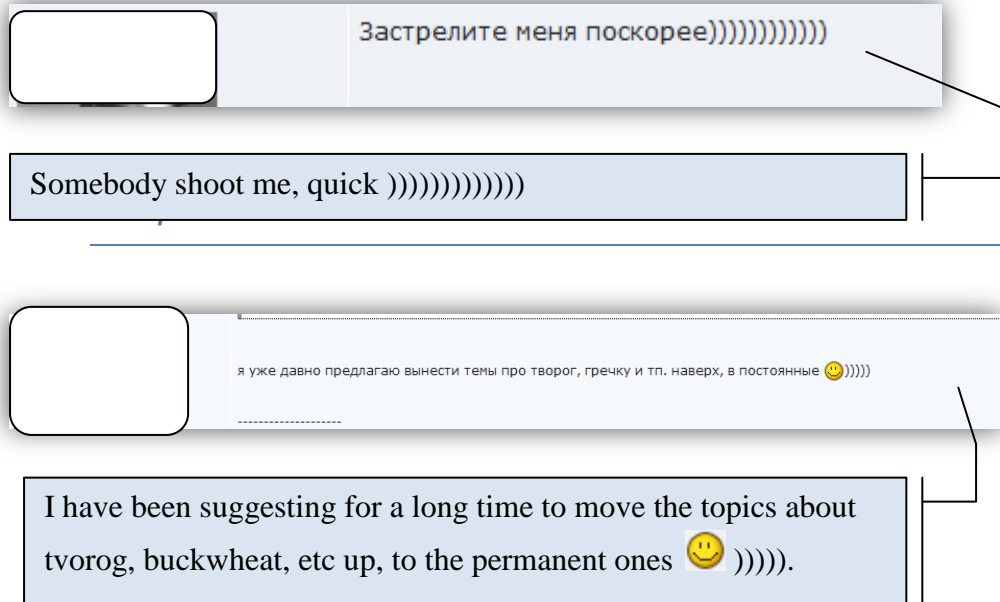
[...] whatever you, don't search to forum for the word "tvorog"!!!

You may not read ALL that in your condition!

But to be serious, you really need to eat tvorog!!!

<sup>20</sup> <<http://rusforum.dk/index.php?showtopic=21170&hl>>, Appendix.III.5



*Excerpt 11*

The excerpts above demonstrate the actors' awareness in the aforementioned association between prandial practices and mobile living, i.e. in fact that organizing transnational living often involves re-organizing the established and familiar connections between material agencies (food products, raw ingredients), acts and actions associated with these materialities and cultural, social and ideational regimes that regulate how these associations become enacted. Furthermore, these excerpts make visible the knowledge that the actors share with regard to the discursive role assigned to 'tvorog' in the construction of the associations in focus. The sharing of this knowledge becomes conveyed in the interactional segments presented above through a number of humorous and sarcastic remarks that exaggerate the commonality of the inquiry that topic's author is making and commonsensical character of the knowledge, which is sought by this inquiry. For instance, in the Excerpts 9 and 10, the participants of the discussion in focus make two successive humorous comments in response to the author's initiation of the conversational theme about tvorog. The first comment (Excerpt 9) anticipates the intense reaction from the other participants of the forum ("forum is down in convulsions, you can't even imagine how bad the convulsions are") whose engagement in the interaction site in focus is routinized enough to enable them to know that "countless topics are devoted to tvorog. Moreover, those topics not devoted to tvorog come down to

it anyway”. In the Excerpt 10, another participant follows the humorous tone set up by the previous conversational line by alluding to the commonsensical understanding that pregnant women should avoid disturbing, intense experiences, such as “ALL that” written about tvorog on Rusforum. The extreme character of whatever is written becomes emphasized through capitalization of the collective pronoun “all”, which within the framework of computer-mediated interaction is equivalent to the accentuation achieved in co-present interactional contexts, e.g. through the increased or rising pitch tone. In excerpt 11, the aforementioned overstatement of the banality and predictability of inquiries about tvorog acquires sarcastic undertones realized through the combination of verbal (“somebody shoot me, quick”) and visual semiotic resources (usage of multiple closing parenthesis to accomplish graphically the act of smiling or laughing). Similarly, in the Excerpt 12, the participant relies on both written and visual modalities in her suggestion “to move the topics about tvorog, buckwheat, etc up, to the permanent ones”. In making this suggestion the author of the post refers to such an aspect of forum’s organization as the possibility to place the topics discussing the most frequently addressed issues (often containing practical information about immigration laws, guidelines to doing the necessary paperwork, regulations regarding financial support, etc) on top of the list of sub-forums, graphically separated in the webpage layout by a horizontal bar. Topics that are placed in this frame are not deleted, archived or moved up and down the list in accordance with the current number of visits and posts as the rest of the topics but saved as an informational resource. The positioning of the conversations about tvorog as a permanent informational resource would equalize them in terms of their significance with such matters as contact information to the legal offices, lists of documents necessary for visa and residency applications, references to the laws concerning employment, etc. It is the realization that something as trivial as a dairy product appears to be at least as significant to the organization of migrant and transnational living as legislative systems generated to regulate this living, is what adds a humorous note to the suggestion made in the conversational line in focus and marked by the usage of “smiling” emoticon combined with multiple closing parenthesis.

While the analysis above demonstrates the actors’ awareness of the association between prandial practices and transnational living (also emphasized by multiple automatic “thank you” replies to each of the aforementioned comments as a way of asserting the argument made in the comments), what seems to remain unexamined in the actors’ interaction are the categorizations produced along with the discursive construction of the association in focus. In making relevant a particular aspect of prandial practices the actors often assign this aspect (a product, place, meaning or action) to a

certain category. Just as in the construction of child-rearing discourses, interactional categorization practices carried out through the associations with food-related discourses rely on the usage of linguistic pro-forms, such as personal pronouns (for instance, “our shop” “our food” “our products” “our civilization”, “our thematics” (“the shop department with our thematics”). While the continuous and unchallenged use of this particular categorization format implies the shared understanding of what “our” means, the preliminary analysis of actors’ interaction on Rusforum demonstrated that categorizations discursively marked through the use of “our” become assigned a wide range of meanings that rely on both national and transnational attachments. For instance, such categorization as “our shop” in the topic titles becomes discursively constructed is explicitly national terms (“Russian shops in Denmark, addresses”). However, those experiences, which the actors describe and those places that they list within the framework of these topics transgress the binary Danish-Russian associations. For instance, the suggestion of one of the forum’s participants to collect all the information about “Russian shops” in Denmark in one topic, has produced such a response<sup>21</sup>:

### Excerpt 13

Мне нравится польский магазин на Обульварден, там и огурцы соленые, и творог и тп. Плюс сербско-югославский магазин на Ягтвай! Очень хорошее слоеное тесто!

I like Polish shop on Åbulevarden, they have both salted cucumbers, and tvorog, and so on. Plus, Serbian-Yugoslavian in Jagtvej! Very good dough!

This conversational exchange illustrates the extensiveness and diversity of the connections through which the categories are constructed as well as demonstrating how in the course of discursive practices the actors employ one set of transnational connections (Polish or Serbian-Yugoslavian shops in Denmark or in Germany) to construct another transnational association (“Russian shop in Denmark”) or to maintain national attachment at a distance (doing being Russian outside Russian state borders by reproducing familiar prandial practices).

As the above analytical segments demonstrate, in articulation of the concerns around which the actors’ everyday lives are organized (such as matters of child-upbringing and food-related issues)

<sup>21</sup> <[#entry256839](http://rusforum.dk/index.php?showtopic=11495&st=20&p=256839), Appendix III.6>

and in discursive construction and negotiation of the normative regimes (sets of meanings and formats of doings) involved in this organization, the actors engage in ongoing movement between and across multiple categorizations of those aspects of realities with which these concerns are associated (such as institutional child-care systems or commercial and economic arrangements). However, this movement is carried out not between segregated and fixed national binaries in relation to which transnational living is conventionally construed, but between and across numerous meanings, symbols, discursive constructions, materialities, experiences and accounts, which are listed under these categories and which involve points of references, actions and aspects of realities that might or might not be connected to national memberships. Moreover, in the course of social interaction the actors constantly negotiate and re-negotiate these lists, thereby, formulating and re-formulating the aforementioned national categories as well as constructing new ways of categorizing realities and new ways of relating to these categories, which transgress paradigms of banal nationalism and transnationalism.

Ethnographic and analytical work through which I arrived at the aforementioned preliminary inferences and through which I was registering interaction produced by the actors within the computer-mediated site in focus, was carried out in close connection with my research and participatory activity within other sites of actors' engagement, such as Rusmam. As the next section illustrates, many of the analytical observations made in relation to Rusforum refer to the social and discursive mechanisms of actors' practices and to the aspects of transnational networking mediated by these practices, which were also identifiable in the descriptions and materials that I was registering within the other sites. It is by following the actors and their discursive and social engagements across these semiotically diverse sites and by moving between multiple analytical segments based on the data collected within these sites that I was triangulating the analytical focus of my examination. That is, I was identifying those aspects of actors' interaction (such as categorizational work, construction of prandial and child-care discourses, interdiscursivity, etc.) and selecting those data segments (discussion topics on Rusforum, conversational sequences that took place within Rusmam events, etc.), which later in my research project I began to pull out from my data archive (which I was assembling while navigating the nexus of practice in a way described in this chapter), for further analytical exploration carried out in Chapter 7 of this thesis.

### III.2. Rusmam/the Russian School

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, during the previous ethnographic steps, I have laid the groundwork for the process of establishing my zone identification with another site of actors' engagement, Rusmam. Prior to my participation in Rusmam activities I had met some of its members and many of the actors who took part in Rusmam meetings at that time were aware of both my personal and research interests in this network. Due to this groundwork, even during my first participation in a Rusmam meeting, I was able to use all the variety of recording means for registering the interaction that took place within the framework of this meeting: such as a digital audio-recorder, video- and photo-cameras as well as the taking of fieldnotes. Having said that, I should also emphasize that while entering the site of engagement in focus and acquiring an informal oral consent from the network members present at the meetings was a relatively short and largely unproblematic process, achieving recognition of my personal and research engagement with the network and becoming its full-fledged participant was the task that required a large time investment, commitment and reflexivity on my part. During the first two-three months, my participation in the weekly Rusmam meeting very much involved discussing with the other members the scope of my project – my personal and academic motivations behind this project, concrete details of those actions and activities that I would be undertaking in relation to it, the possible effects of these activities on each and every participant involved, parameters and formats of this involvement, etc. Through such systematic attention to these multiple aspects of my participation in the network in focus and through on-going revisiting and re-negotiation of the boundaries and modes of this participation and its impact on the other members, in the course of the first six months of my ethnographic work within the site, I had acquired the formal consent from the actors involved in my ethnography and had become a knowledgeable and confident participant in a number of interaction orders that form this site (see Chapter 6 for the detailed discussion of the ethical concerns and considerations in relation to the aforementioned aspect of my ethnographic work).

In addition, In the course of these six months, my engagement in Rusmam events, formed by merging ethnographic and participatory activities, became regular and routinized in a way that seemed to be accepted by the other participants and that soon stabilized as a normalized, “invisible” aspect of interaction that took place in these events (in Chapter 6 of the thesis I address further this

change in the character of my participatory and research presence at the site and the ethical aspect of this change). In the course of the next two years, I proceeded with this ethnographic and participatory routine, which involved planning, organizing and participation in such events that took place within this site, such as:

- meetings of the play group and, later, of the “Russian school” (approx. every second weekend)

**Image 19: Rusmam, September 7, 2008**





- “without children get-togethers”

**Image 20: Rusmam, September 6, 2008**



- holiday celebrations (Christmas, Easter, New Year parties)

**Image 21: The Russian School, “Winter Concert”, January 1, 2010**





- picnics and fieldtrips (to the Zoo, to the local farms, to the playground, etc.)

**Image 22: Rusmam, August 23, 2008**



- concerts and performances (for instance, the performances of the “Paramon” theater-group from St. Petersburg, which stage children plays acted in Danish and rooted in both Russian and Danish literature and music cultural tradition).

**Image 23: “Paramon”, March 29, 2009**



As the images above illustrate, the interaction, which took place within the framework of these

events, was framed by diverse practices, private and public spaces, multiple interaction orders, all of which effected how I recorded this interaction in the context of each event (i.e. the choice of technological means, semiotic formats, etc.). For instance the majority of the Rusmam and the Russian school meetings took place in the building of one of the public schools in Aalborg (Vejgaard school) or in the building of Vejgaard church (Aalborg). As a rule, on both locations the network activities took place in different rooms simultaneously (classrooms, playrooms, a gymnasium, a changing room, etc.), which meant that interaction taking place within the framework of these spaces was formed by orders, conversational contexts and actions that were often physically segregated. This obviously posed certain challenges in relation to registering such dispersed interaction moments. Striving to grasp as many of these moments as possible in order to capture as fully as possible the actors' practices constructed in and through these moments, shortly after I became engaged with the site in focus, I had settled into the routine of placing a video camera and an audio recorder in two different rooms or sides of the rooms where I could observe the interaction unfolding at that moment, while participating in and registering the third interaction context with the help of fieldnotes and video camera. In the course of each meeting, I usually redistributed this recording arrangement several times in order to follow the dynamics of interaction orders and conversational sequences.

In the context of different events, I applied different tactics for registering my observations and actors' doings, suitable for a particular physical and social setting. For instance, at the concerts and plays, my ethnographic activities had to be more static, meaning that I was using only one recording device, such as a video camera, in a way that would not be disturbing to the actors and the rest of the audience. In contrast, in outside, public spaces, where I could distribute recording devices and where the quality of audio-recording was bound to be low, I had to follow the actors' interaction by moving across multiple interaction orders and physical places. In private spaces, on the other hand, my choice of recording tactics was affected, first and foremost, by the considerations with regard to the participants' privacy and acute realization that gaining the actors' trust and being let in into their personal lives entails a great responsibility to respect this trust and the privacy of these lives. For the organization of my ethnographic work this meant that at the interaction events, which took place, e.g. in the participants' homes, I refrained from using video-camera and some cases limited myself to taking fieldnotes and photos.

All the aforementioned ethical and pragmatic facets of the highly participant, long-term ethnography, which I have carried out within the framework of the site in focus, obviously had implications in relation to the data archive, which I was accumulating in the course of this ethnography. What this very concretely entails, is that not all of the acts and interaction events, in which I have participated and which I have observed in the course of the last two years were registered. It also means that those interaction moments, which were recorded, were documented and preserved through different technological means and different forms of modalities and, consequently with different level of detail and from different perspectives. Moreover, those conversational sequences and interaction orders, which I have observed or in which I have participated personally, might be also those, which I experienced more intensely and distinctly and which, therefore, I might be more predisposed to explore analytically than those of which I learnt after the interaction took place, e.g. by listening to the audio-recordings.

Having said that, I believe it to be imperative to stress that while the critical account of the implications, which such pragmatic, technical or ethical moments of ethnography might have on the analytical aspect of the research, is crucial for building up the argument regarding its reliability, the aforementioned pragmatic, technological and ethical matters themselves are inevitable and inherent when the analysis relies on naturally occurring data, captured through the researcher's personal and active engagement with the data's sites of production. Moreover, when, as in the case of my project, collecting this data involves following situated, mediated actions as they are being accomplished by the actors, the multiplicity of physical and semiotic fields is bound to create an archive, which is uneven, in terms of level of detail and semiotic format of the data segments of which it is comprised. However and as argued earlier, when made transparent, the implications discussed above do not undermine the validity or reliability of the research (this discussion will be continued in the next chapter of the thesis in relation to the formulating the strategies to representing multimodal, translated data).

By carrying out ethnographic and participatory work outlined above, I was circumferencing the site of actors' engagement in focus, i.e. getting to know people that were involved with this site, mapping out those social attachments that they formed to it and those discursive constructions through which they articulated these attachments, learning about their historical bodies (life stories, values, concerns, etc.) and following their actions. What began to emerge out of these numerous and multimodal bits of material was a dynamic network formed by constantly shifting memberships

that varied greatly, in time, in intensity, in character and in motivations behind the engagement through which the actors sustained these memberships. As indicated by the discursive description, which the actors regularly used to refer to the network in focus, Rusmam (abbreviation from “Russian mamas”), most of the regular participants of this network’s activities are women with children between the ages of 0-12. However, both men and women without children are also engaged with this site. Over the past two years, the number of members participating in Rusmam/the Russian school events has been fluctuating between 10 and 30 people. However, as it will be addressed below, the connections, which the actors construct to this site, are being constantly extended and compressed through the shifts in mediational and semiotic means that enable these connections, which entails that more precise quantitative description of the network’s circumference is neither possible nor interesting within the framework of my examination. Much more significant, however, is to describe the quality of the aforementioned connections and their resemiotization that I followed in the course of my investigation.

In the course of the two years during which I have proceeded with the active and close ethnographic and participatory involvement with the site in focus, I had a unique opportunity to follow how its social, physical, discursive and semiotic parameters were changing and how irregular and seemingly unconnected actions and activities of the actors, by which it was composed at first, became assembled and networked together in a durable yet dynamic nexus of relations, which currently sustains this site. These transformations took place through multiple shifts in the semiotic regimes and mediational means enabling the interaction events and orders participating in the construction of the site in focus and the connections between them. Earlier in this section, I have already described the computer-mediated interaction within which Rusmam have emerged and the discursive shifts through which it began to transform from a few comments, dispersed over diverse discussion topics, into a growing assemblage of activities taking place across multiple co-present and computer-mediated contexts. Since I became involved with these activities and interaction orders in which they occurred, I observed and participated in another set of transformations, which have extended, intertwined and stabilized these social acts and contexts into what the actors refer to in their descriptions as the Russian school.

As I was following the actors’ interactions and actions, I was also tracing the making of this site of actors’ engagement which started in the conversations of parents participating in Rusmam meetings. Within the framework of these conversations, the Russian school originated as an idea to add to the

playgroup meetings classes in Russian, music, theatre, gymnastics, etc. This initiative became relevant due the fact that many of the families that were joining Rusmam meetings at that time had children of school-age and were, therefore, interested in another set of activities than those, which had become regular in a playgroup and which mostly targeted toddlers. Shortly after the Russian school emerged as a discursive subject in the aforementioned co-present interaction settings, it began to undergo multiple resemiotizations, first, by extending from the face-to-face semiotic space onto the technology-mediated temporarily and spatially dispersed telephone conversations and e-mail exchanges (between Rusmam members, potential teachers, etc.) within which the actors proceeded with the discussions of physical, organizational, economic, pedagogical, etc. aspects of the Russian school in making., later, by acquiring a material form of a hand-written announcement pinned-down on the wall of the “Russian” shop in Aalborg, by becoming recontextualized as on-line announcement on the website of the Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg<sup>22</sup> and as a discussion topic on Rusforum<sup>23</sup>.

The later shifts of modality moved the site in focus outside the limits of immediate proximity of the actors that have initiated it, opening up possibilities for new, dynamic, long-distance formats of relating to it and resemiotizing it as tangible and lasting inscriptions (computer-mediated discussions and announcements) that could be referred to, found through the search engines, stored in the archives of Rusforum etc. Thus, even prior to being registered at Aalborg Municipality, the Russian school in Aalborg had come to represent a complex network of connections that linked together a large number of human agencies (interested parents, curious participants of Rusforum, potential teachers etc.), whose attachments to the network were formed by semiotically diverse constantly changing connections, inscription devices (computer technologies, telephone etc.) as well as physical, social and discursive places (the “Russian” shop in Aalborg, Rusforum, Rusmam). Registration at the local municipality triggered another semiotic transformation of the Russian school turning it into a geo-political space with a new set of inscriptions now even more durable, tangible and accessible: such as, identification labels (name and registration number), address, telephone number etc. This transformation complicated once again the nexus of practices through which this specific site of actors’ engagement was becoming assembled by adding to this nexus new material agencies (school, books, equipment), new sets of relations, such as institutional relations (with different municipal departments), new practices, such as economic practices (money

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<sup>22</sup> <<http://www.dkrus-aalborg.dk>>, Appendix III.1

<sup>23</sup> <<http://rusforum.dk/index.php?showtopic=14802>>, Appendix III.7



exchange, payment of rental fee, payment of salaries to the teachers, paying taxes, etc), legal practices (registration of the Russian school as an organization) as well as new physical (Vejgaard school) and temporal (schedule, time-table) facets.

All the aforementioned resemiotizations enabled the shifts in the interaction orders and actions, which were circulating through and sustaining the site in focus. One of the most remarkable shifts involved the change in the character of events and activities, which took place within this site. On the one hand these activities became more diverse, including, as described earlier in this section, cultural events (concerts, theatre plays), excursions, celebrations of religious holidays, etc. On the other hand, these activities as well as social interaction taking place within them became increasingly framed as a pedagogical and educational practice. This shift was explicitly marked in the discursive repertoire, which the actors employed in their descriptions in relation to the Russian school and which borrowed heavily into educational discourse (for instance, usage of such terms as “classes”, “homework”, “school break”, etc.). Another shift in the circumference of the site in focus involved the change in the interaction orders in which the actions circulating through the site took place. As the range of network activities was growing more diverse and as the connections between social and semiotic places involved in the network were growing more complicated and extended, the memberships enabling it were also becoming more extensive and varied. For instance, it became more and more customary for whole families (including extended families, such as visiting grandparents, etc.) to participate in the networks events rather than only mothers or, more rarely, fathers (as I observed it at the beginning of my engagement with the site). Moreover, more members without children became engaged with the site (tutors or potential teachers, Rusforum participants interested in the cultural events organized within the Russian school, etc.)

The diversity of formats through which the aforementioned memberships are formed and sustained is anchored in the diversity of semiotic and meditational means on which the network in focus relies and which I have addressed above. How each of the network’s members construct their attachments to this site and how these attachments change over time depends on multiple details of their historical bodies, in the changes in living situations. As well as this, it reflects the shifts between diverse categories, which the actors enact as they engage in their everyday practices. These shifts, which I have already begun to mark in relation to actors’ interaction on Rusforum, also become visible in the discursive descriptions collected within Rusmam/the Russian school. For instance, during one of the Rusmam meetings, while discussing where the next meeting should take

place, the participants describe how they experience the changes in the significance of doing being Russian at a distance:

*Transcript 2: Rusmam, September 7, 2008*

- |           |                                                                          |
|-----------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Nadia: | In the beginning people are ready to go and to travel far to get Russian |
| 2.        | food or to talk to people in a Russian cafe and then they visit the      |
| 3.        | Russian shop often. Then you buy something only if you are there anyway. |
| 4. Z:     | In the beginning I was ready to travel to FREDERIKSHAVN to talk to       |
| 5.        | Russians.. now I wouldn't go to Vrå.. it is too far away.                |
| 6. T:     | I would go there if it was on my way to work..let's say instead of       |
| 7.        | buying kiks <sup>24</sup> I would buy sushki <sup>25</sup> .             |

The transcript above demonstrates that enacting national belonging at a distance takes place through forming connections to the places, material products and discursive constructions that are explicitly marked as national, such as the “Russian” shop, the “Russian” cafe, “Russian” food. By shifting between generalizations (Lines 1-3) and descriptions of individual experiences (Lines 4-7), the actors produce a discursive account of how the ways in which these connections are formed change: become more or less significant (“I was ready to travel to FREDERIKSHAVN to talk to Russians..now I wouldn't go to Vrå it is too far away”, Lines 4-5), more or less intense and repeated (which in the interaction above becomes described as the shift between going to “Russian” shop on purpose and often “to get Russian food or to talk to people”, Lines 1-2, and going there because it is on the way, Lines 6-7). Interestingly, in the conversational context represented above, both intensification of associations to the national category of being Russian and disentanglement from this category is marked through the discursive references to prandial practices (see Figure 8).

<sup>24</sup> “kiks” – biscuits (Danish)

<sup>25</sup> “sushki” – type of hard biscuits (Russian)



Figure 8: Rusmam, September 7, 2008

(Lines 1-3) Nadia: In the beginning people are ready to go and to travel far to get Russian food or to talk to people in a "Russian" cafe and they visit "Russian" shop often.

Members' generalizations (constructed through the usage of a collective pronoun "they" and pro-form word "people"):  
The significance of national belonging is emphasized through the significance (going "far", visiting "often") of prandial practices discursively marked as Russian ("Russian food", "Russian cafe", "Russian shop").

(Lines 6-7) T: I would go there if it was on my way to work...let's say instead of buying kiks I would buy sushki

Individual experience (constructed from the first person perspective):  
Disattachment from a particular national category (being Russian) is discursively constructed through marking the practice of going to the "Russian" shop as solely the matter of practicality ("if it is on my way") and through downgrading the significance of buying "Russian" food ("let's say instead of buying kiks I would buy sushki")

The significant role of prandial practices and prandial discourses for the ways in which the actors organize their everyday lives and their memberships, which I mapped out in the preliminary analytical examination of one of the conversational events captured in the course of my ethnographic work within Rusmam/the Russian school, illustrates the circulation of food-related discourses that I have already begun to identify across diverse interaction events registered within Rusforum. Later in the thesis (Chapter 7), I shall continue to map out and unpack this circulation as well as the construction of interdiscursive and intersemiotic connections, which enables it.

Apart from allowing me to mark the role of the prandial and child-rearing discourses in the actions and interactions, which the actors enacted within the site in focus, preliminary analysis of the materials that I was gathering also allowed me to map how these actions and interactions unfolded across this and other sites of the nexus of practice, which I was navigating. Earlier in this chapter, in relation to the making and re-making of Rusmam/the Russian school, I have already described how both the actions, which the actors carry out, and the interaction orders within which these actions

are being accomplished stretch across this co-present social space and computer-mediated site, Rusforum, thereby producing and reproducing the web of dense connections between the aforementioned sites. The discursive construction of these connections is visible in the registered conversational events in the multiple references to “the site”, which the actors make in describing the ways through which they organize multiple aspects of their everyday practices: such as finding the information about “Russian-Polish-all-sorts-of-different shops”<sup>26</sup> in Denmark or in Germany or, when asked by the kindergarten teacher to cook a “national dish”<sup>27</sup> for the children, attacking the questions of what dishes are “national”, what “nationality” these dishes should be invoking (the one defined by the citizenship – Russian, place of birth – e.g. Kazakhstan, or familial routines and customs – such as cooking Uzbek plov<sup>28</sup>) and more importantly, which of these “national dishes” would be apt for serving in one’s child’s kindergarten – i.e. “different” from the default nationality (Danish) enough to be considered “national” by not conflicting with what is considered “healthy”, “appropriate”, “not strange”, “normal” and “convenient” for serving small children in the child-care institutions in Denmark. In Chapter 7, I shall pick up and continue to examine this intersection of variously defined national and non-national categories and normative regimes and the ways in which the actors conflate and reproduce them in the course of their everyday practices and interactions, which I identified in navigating ethnographically and analytically the nexus of practice in focus.

Another site of actors’ engagement repeatedly made relevant in the course of interaction that I observed and participated within Rusforum and Rusmam/the Russian school is the so-called “Russian” shop in Aalborg. Many of the actors’ actions and engagements’ that I was able to trace in following this interaction involved this site, such as for instance, the making of the Russian school which I already addressed, in relation to which Rusmam participants placed the hand-written announcements of the Russian school meetings thereby mobilizing the “Russian” shop as the social place for organizing a particular aspect of their everyday lives and interactions. Furthermore, much of the categorizational work that I was able to mark was carried out in relation to this physical and symbolic site. Transcript 2, discussed earlier in this section represents one of the examples of the ways in which this particular site becomes invoked by the actors in constructing such categories as being Russian and in orienting towards or/and away from this category. It is based on these

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<sup>26</sup> < <http://rusforum.dk/index.php?showtopic=20555&hl>>, Appendix III.8

<sup>27</sup> < <http://rusforum.dk/index.php?showtopic=14777&hl>>, Appendix III.9

<sup>28</sup> “plov” – “плов” (Russian) – a dish made of rice, vegetables and lamb.

ethnographic and analytical observations that I, in the summer of 2008, extended my research and participatory activities onto this site of actors' engagement.

### III.3. The “Russian” shop in Aalborg

I began to engage with the site in focus in summer 2008 by browsing through many of the Rusforum's topics devoted to the discussion of “our”, “Russian”, “national” food and non-food products, the places where they could be bought, ways in which they could be produced, etc. as well as by talking to the Rusmam/the Russian school members about the shop, its owner, the products which could be bought there, etc and by searching the Internet for the contact information about the shop. In September 2008, I visited the shop and introduced myself to its owner. Just as in relation to Rusmam, in entering the site in focus I drew on the moments of my life history, such as my Russian background, as well as on my participation in the other sites significant to the actors' interaction, such as on my active engagement with Rusmam and Rusforum and the fact that I was familiar with many of the shop's customers. Framed by this personal context, my research interests in relation to this shop were met positively and even enthusiastically by its owner. In the course of the first meeting she took initiative in telling me about how the idea of the shop emerged and what it took to follow it through, about the products sold in the shop and people that buy them, etc., seeing my research activities as an opportunity to put into words, to share one of the important narratives of her life.

My ethnographic work within this site was organized through three scene surveys conducted with, respectively, one and three weeks in between them and lasting between one and three hours. These surveys included a series of unstructured audio-recorded interviews with the owner of the shop, observations of her interaction with the customers and descriptions that she made in relation to the products sold in the shop recorded by taking fieldnotes, video-recording (video-camera and photo-camera) of the physical space of the shop and of its assortment, collection of material items, such as a menu card and product labels. Through these surveys, I came to know many details of life history of Fatima who owns the shop and many stories connected to the social, communicative, financial, pragmatic, etc. aspects of the day-to-day actions and practices involved in running it. It is through these details, minor and trivial, and these narratives, mundane and unremarkable, intertwined with my own observations that I was able to map the circumference of this site.

One of aspects of this circumference involved multiple and diverse categorizations through which this site was constructed in the discursive descriptions produced in relation to it, such as its name, “Sadko”<sup>29</sup>, a printed newspaper article published in one of the local newspapers in response to the opening of the shop (“Smagen af Østeuropa” (Danish) – “The taste of Eastern Europe” (English), “Nordjyske Stiftiderne”, January 2007<sup>30</sup>) and the discussion on Rusforum<sup>31</sup>. While some of these descriptions categorize the shop in strictly and explicitly national terms, such as the label “Russian shop” in the Rusforum discussion and the name of the shop, which alludes to Russian mythology, other descriptions invoke different formats of classing the contemporary realities. For instance, throughout the newspaper article, the shop is consistently referred to as Eastern European – a discursive label that draws on the membership paradigm that undermines national borders in favour of a new form of belonging and a new set of political and symbolic divides (European-Non-European, Western European-Eastern European. Fatima’s own accounts in relation to the shop involve even broader spectrum of categories and memberships. For instance, as a way of explaining her decision to open what she describes as the “Russian shop” or the “Russian cafe” and selling “Russian products” she refers to such aspects of her life story as being born in Turkmenistan, being raised in a family of an Iranian father and Uzbek mother and being an Estonian citizen, thereby constructing what doing being Russian is at the intersection between diverse points of reference, such as citizenship, place of birth, upbringing. None of which, taken separately and out of their historical context, justify the association to this particular national category that the actor seeks to produce, but which yet are made discursively to construct this category in a way that crosses the boundaries of national and cultural belonging.

These ambivalence, density and dynamic character of categorizations, which the actors produce and on which they rely in constructing the social, physical and symbolic sites of their engagement and in organizing their associations with these sites and which I have now marked in relation to all the three sites across which my ethnography was organized, represents one of the aspects of the position from which I begin my analytical examination. In the following section, I shall go over the main points of this position, the way it was triangulated and the data archive on which it relies.

<sup>29</sup> “Sadko” – “Садко” (Russian) – the title and the character of Russian medieval epic.

<sup>30</sup> Link to the web version of the article:

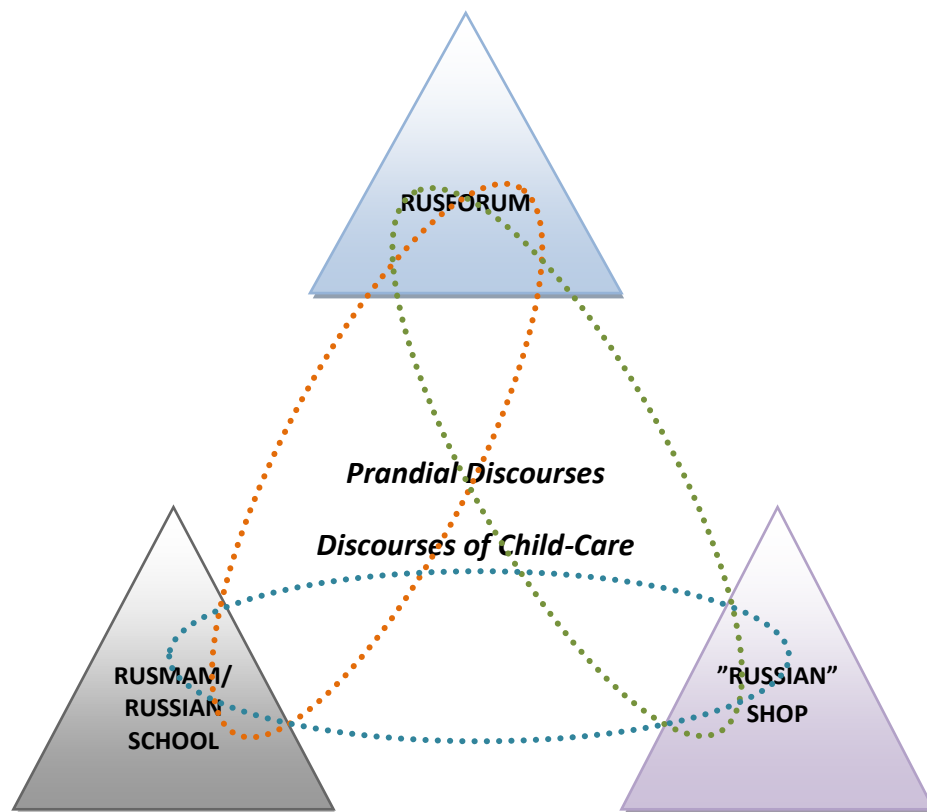
<<http://www.aalborg.dk/dansk/shopping/Default.aspx?ctrl=1689&data=141%2C2212242%2C3194&count=1>> (Danish version), Appendix III.10

<sup>31</sup> <<http://rusforum.dk/index.php?showtopic=6046&hl>>, Appendix III.11

#### IV. DATA ARCHIVE

As described in the chapter and as illustrated in Figure 9, the ethnography of practice, which I have carried out within the framework of my research project, was organized around three sites of actors' engagement: the computer-mediated social place Rusforum, Rusmam/the Russian school and the "Russian" shop in Aalborg, Sadko. Through diverse, systematic and closely intertwined participatory and research activities, in the course of two years I have been following the actors and their engagements across the aforementioned social, semiotic and physical sites circumferencing the nexus of interaction orders, discourses and actions, which enable those seemingly unremarkable and mundane practices that mediate transnational networking with which my research is concerned. As I was working at recognizing these social and interactional parameters of actors' engagements and discursive and semiotic connecting produced through them and as I was working at becoming recognized as the fully-fledged participant of these engagements, I was also identifying and following the circulation of the discourses, which the actors invoked in their interaction in relation to describing diverse aspects of their everyday lives and concerns. As Figure 9 illustrates, these discourses include discourses of child-care and prandial discourses.

Figure 9

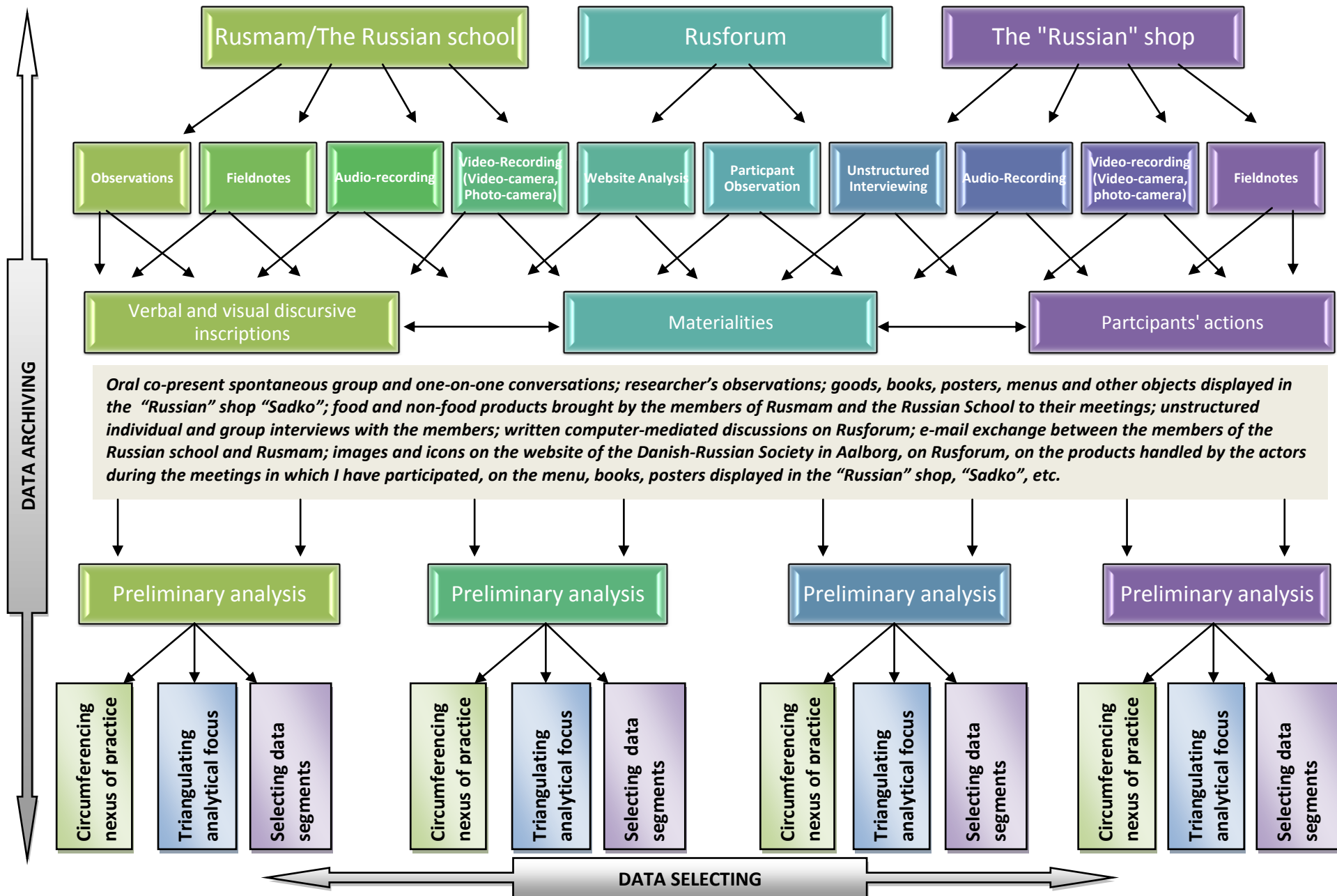


As was discussed in Chapter 3 of the thesis, this work was carried out through the ongoing and multiple movements between ethnographic activities (such as observations, taking fieldnotes, audio-recording, video-recording (video-camera, photo-camera), website analysis, unstructured interviewing) and preliminary analytical examinations of extensive, multisemiotic assemblage of materials that I was collecting through these ethnographic activities (such as oral co-present spontaneous group and one-on-one conversations; researcher's observations; goods, books, posters, menus and other objects displayed in the "Russian" shop, "Sadko"; food and non-food products brought by the members of Rusmam and the Russian school to their meetings; unstructured individual and group interviews with the members; written computer-mediated discussions on Rusforum; e-mail exchange between the members of the Russian school and Rusmam; images and icons on the website of the Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg, on Rusforum, on the products handled by the actors during the meetings in which I have participated, on the menu, books, posters

displayed in the “Russian” shop, “Sadko”, etc). These first probing analytical examinations, in which I employed the strategies of multimodal, socio-semiotic approach to analyzing social interaction developed in Chapter 3, such as membership-categorization device (Sacks, 1992; Silverman, 1998), conversational organization (members’ generalizations and individual descriptions) (Scollon & Scollon, 2004), multimodal analysis (Kress, 2010), etc., allowed me to triangulate the analytical position of my investigation. That is, while I was navigating and circumferencing the nexus of practice, with which I became engaged, I was also marking the moments of social interaction (such as the construction of prandial and child-rearing discourses, categorical work, interdiscursivity), which the actors continuously mobilized in relation to diverse aspects of their everyday lives. It is these analytical observations that form the position from which I carry out the examination presented in Chapter 7 of the thesis, both by building up upon the analytical segments (and data on which this analysis relies) illustrated in this chapter and by extending this analytical work onto new segments of the generated data archive and onto new analytical threads. Figure 10 encapsulates and illustrates the process of data archiving and data selecting addressed above.



Figure 10: Ethnography of Practice: Data Archiving – Data Selecting



## V. CHAPTER SUMMARY

As is obvious in the account above, the current chapter of my thesis is not an entirely methodological narrative. Nor is it a result of analytical work spilling out unintentionally into what was supposed to be an exclusively methodological report. Instead, this chapter represents a conscious product of the methodological approach to organizing the ethnography of practice, which relies on the on-going hermeneutic movement between ethnographic, participatory and analytical activities and which is carefully devised on the basis of theoretical, ontological and epistemological reflections delineated earlier in the thesis. Furthermore, this chapter is a testimony to the fact that this way of viewing and knowing the making of realities is in fact applicable and apt for following the methods, which the members mobilize in this making, and that it rewards the researcher with rich, semiotically diverse assemblage of naturally-occurring materials. Within the framework of my project, I treat this assemblage as a data archive, meaning that I do not force upon the materials, registered in the course of ethnographic and analytical work described in the current chapter, the distinction between raw and processed data leaving open for revisiting and further discussion the whole spectrum of the collected data, including those segments, which have already been touched analytically in generating the archive.

In this chapter, through shifting between ethnographic accounts, analytical segments, examples of the captured co-present and computer-mediated interaction encounters and of elements of visual and verbal discourse, graphic representations, etc. I illustrate how the aforementioned archive was assembled and show the scope of the ethnography through which it was assembled. In addition, I make tangible the materials of which the archive is comprised and the people, places and actions involved in the production of these materials.

I begin by outlining and discussing those personal and academic concerns and experiences through which I arrived at the set of issues addressed in my project. That is, I describe how aspects of my historical body such as moving to another country, being a mother, being interested academically in the matters of discourse and identity construction, multimodality and intercultural communication, etc. have made me aware of the increasingly relevant issues and problematic aspects of transnational mobility and its role in re-shaping of identificational processes and how this intersection of personal and research interests and moments of my life story have led me to the

Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg as a point at which I entered the nexus of actors' practices where my ethnography became placed.

Further in the chapter, I account for how in the course of the three scene surveys (website of the Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg, meeting of the society board and the summer lunch of the society members) and the first analytical glances into the discursive descriptions that I followed and collected within and across these scenes, I engaged with the nexus of practice in focus and began to identify the sites and orders relevant to the actors' interaction (such as computer-mediated social space Rusforum and Rusmam a network of Russian-speaking parents and their children) and the discourses, which circulated across and sustained these sites of actors engagement (such as prandial discourses and discourses connected to child-care).

It is by navigating ethnographically, across these sites and interaction orders, and analytically, across multisemiotic materials connected within these sites, that I continued to circumference the nexus of practice that I became engaged with, following and mapping out the circulation of the already identified discourses (discourses related to food and child-upbringing) and actions involved in their construction. In illustrating these ethnographic and analytical movements, I was adding to the narrative produced in this chapter more and more details about the people involved in my ethnography, their life stories, experiences, concerns, about social and symbolic associations, which they make significant in their actions and discursive descriptions, about physical places and semiotic resources, which enable these actions and descriptions, etc. In doing so I was building up more and more detailed picture of the sites with which I was engaged in the course of my ethnographic work and of the connections between and outside them. One of the sites that I identified through following these discursive connections (in the course of preliminary analysis of the actors' interaction) is the "Russian" shop in Aalborg onto which I extended my further ethnographic work.

As I proceeded with the description of the aforementioned work organized around the three sites of actors' engagement (Rusforum, Rusmam/the Russian school, the "Russian" shop in Aalborg), I was also accounting for the ways through which I triangulated the analytical focus of my investigation and those materials on which this investigation would rely. A few analytical segments presented in this chapter illustrate how through the preliminary examination of the registered moments of actors' interaction with focus on the membership categorizations, visual and verbal elements of social semiosis, etc. I marked the significance to the construction of transnational networking of such

aspects of meaning making carried out by the actors in the course of this interaction as categorical work, prandial and child-rearing discourses and interdiscursivity. I also marked the complexity of transnational memberships and of associations mediating them, which I have anticipated theoretically earlier in this thesis and which I explore analytically in Chapter 7. However, before I embark on this exploration, I shall attain to two more facets of doing the ethnography of practice that are imperative to the way this ethnography is organized within the framework of my research – the matters of representing multimodal, translated data and the issues of realizing ethical researcher responsibility, which are addressed in the thesis in Chapters 5 and 6 respectively.

## CHAPTER 5: MAKING DATA TALK: PROBLEMS OF AND SOLUTIONS TO REPRESENTING MULTIMODAL TRANSLATED DATA

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***"I started to play around with tape recorded conversations, for the single virtue that I could replay them; that I could type them out somewhat, and study them extendedly, who knew how long it might take... [...] I could get my hands on it, and I could study it again and again. And also, consequently, others could look at what I had studied, and make of it what they could, if they wanted to disagree with me" (Sacks, 1992, p. 622).***

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***"I hope to have made the transcripts so valuable to you that we can examine their flaws sympathetically. They are ugly to look at and clumsy to handle and refer to. Their splatterings of " ' , " and " ( ) " and " :: " would try anyone's patience and aesthetic sensibilities. But the study of conversation progressively reveals it to be built to very fine metric and scale" (Moerman, 1988, p. 13).***

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In the previous chapter I have presented an account of those approaches and methodological tools that I employ in locating, recording, preserving and subsequently analysing interactional events that form the data archive of my investigation. I have described the hermeneutic reflective and experiential processes and activities through which I have assembled and substantiated a set of concepts and methodologies that allowed me to trace, circumference, collect and analytically process this data making visible and available for a discussion symbiotically diverse, placially and temporarily dispersed, multivocal experiences, interactions and activities, which comprise it. However, there is yet another essential aspect connected to the collection of my research data, which I need to address before I can fully engage in its analytical treatment. This aspect refers to the task of "distilling and freezing in time the complex [...] fleeting event of an interaction" (Edwards, 1993, p. 3) in order to prepare it - that is to preserve and visualize interaction and its dynamics, for the hermeneutic interpretive process "leading to an increasing understanding with successive passes through the data" by the analyst, research participants, members of academic community, etc. (Ehlich, 1993, p. 124).

According to Jane Edwards (1993, p. 4), it is exactly this methodological task that receives very little attention in the scholarly work on interaction outside experimental settings. This attention is usually limited to the appended list of the used transcription codes stripped of explanation or argumentation regarding the criteria behind the choice of these particular conventions and their implications for the research. In the meantime, preserving and presenting data is much more than “just ‘something to begin with’” (Silverman, 1998, p. 61), much more than a peripheral, technical element of handling the data. Instead, it is the matter of “data accountability” (Edwards, 1993, p. 3), a meaningful aspect of research directed at turning evanescent moments of social life and human interaction into “a public record available for scientific community” (Silverman, 1998, p. 61), into a record of “the actual detail of actual events” without which “you can’t have a science of social life” (Sacks, 1992, p. 26).

The ways in which this aspect is realized by the researchers obviously differs in accordance with the theoretical and analytical objectives of each investigation and its presuppositions as well as depending on the character of the data, which is to be presented. As a result, disciplines such as conversation analysis, ethnomethodology, discourse analysis, ethnography, etc. currently employ a wide range of transcription techniques and data presentation conventions among which there is very little uniformity (Ehlich, 1993, p. 123). All of these approaches, however, have one imperative in common – “providing good visualization of interaction” in a clear, readable manner (Ehlich, 1993, p. 124) and “with a minimum of irrelevant and distracting detail” (Edwards, 1993, p. 3) to facilitate increasing understanding of data through its multiple analytical revisiting. This shared imperative entails commonality of the challenges that need to be tackled on the way of achieving it, such as: finding an approach “well-suited to the theoretical orientation and research question” (Edwards, 1993, p. 3), choosing the level of transcriptional detail that would meet the analytical needs of the project and selecting semiotic and spatial mode of presentation that would adequately reflect inferences and impressions that the researcher derives from it (Edwards, 1993, p. 3). Within the framework of this chapter I shall address these concerns, which are shared by the majority of the research community. In addition, I shall discuss the challenges connected to data representation that are specific to the theoretical and analytical context of my project.

## I. FROM MULTIMODAL INTERACTION TO MULTIMODAL DATA: MATTERS OF DATA RECORDING, PRESERVING, STORING AND VISUALIZING

One of the aforementioned challenges is associated with the highly multimodal character of my research data, which is a result of conducting the research within the tradition of social semiotic analysis, discourse analysis and nexus analysis, all of which are equally concerned with linguistic, paralinguistic and actional occurrences of social life and interaction as they unfold across multiple semiotic and physical spaces. Such theoretical and methodological premises entail that the materials, which I have collected in course of the fieldwork range widely in modality as well as in the form of medium through which it has been generated by the actors and through which I recorded and preserved it. More exactly, my data archive includes:

- Verbal and visual discourse in the form of
  - oral co-present spontaneous group and one-on-one conversations of the members of Rusmam, the Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg and the Russian school;
  - unstructured individual and group interviews with the members of Rusmam, the Danish-Russian Society, the Russian school and the owner of the shop “Sadko” in Aalborg;
  - written computer-mediated discussions on Rusforum<sup>32</sup>;
  - e-mail exchange between the members of the Russian school and Rusmam;
  - Website of the Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg<sup>33</sup>;
  - Images and icons that figure on the website of the Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg and on Rusforum;
  - Images and icons that figure on the products sold in the “Russian” shop, “Sadko”, and on the products bought, displayed and consumed by the actors during the meetings in which I have participated;
  - Images and icons that figure on the menu, books, posters displayed in “Russian” shop, “Sadko”;
- Material objects in the form of:
  - Goods, books, posters, menus and other objects displayed in “Russian” shop “Sadko”;

<sup>32</sup> <http://rusforum.dk/>

<sup>33</sup> <http://www.dkrus-aalborg.dk/>



- Food and non-food products brought by the members of Rusmam and the Russian school to their meetings;
- Photographs, drawings, websites's screenshots of food and non-food products displayed on Rusforum;
- Participants' actions, activities and behaviour in the form of:
  - Discursive descriptions of the actors in co-present and computer-mediated interaction;
  - My own observations.

Thus, in the process of long-term ethnographic work, I have gained access to the material generated by the actors in the variety of semiotic modes: discursive (written and oral), visual (photographs, icons, drawings, screenshots, etc.) material, behavioural (actions, practices and their descriptions) and through a variety of medium: computer-mediated interaction (on-line forums and websites, e-mails), co-present interaction. At this point, I believe it to be significant to emphasise that the differentiation between the forms and the modes of data and types of media, which I have made above, is done solely to make as transparent, as full and as illustrative as possible account of the complexity of my data archive. The aforementioned distinctions are thus made to assist the development (carried out further in this chapter) of the disciplined approach to collecting, reproducing and representing each of the multiple and diverse modes and forms of data. This distinction therefore has merely a descriptive purpose and should not be confused with an attempt to establish one-to-one relationship between genre of social action and modality and form of media through which it becomes enacted. Nor should it be mistaken for an act of theoretical or analytical disentangling and segregating of the multiple, heterogeneous, fluid and intersecting semiotic spaces and representations, which the actors produce and in which they engage in the course of their everyday practices.

Having said that, I shall continue by emphasising that recording and preserving these multimodal and multimedial interactional events and social occurrences – i.e. converting them into research data - has taken the aforementioned material through a series of semiotic transformations. For instance, oral co-present interactions have been recorded in the form of field notes, which have been subsequently transferred into the Evernote (a software designed for optimising the process of taking, systematising and visualising of notes), by means of a video-camera, a digital recorder and a digital photo camera and then transferred and stored on cd-roms, files on the hard disc of my home

computer, on home directory at the university and on a USB device. Segments of computer-mediated interaction on Rusforum has been captured by the website capture software and screenshot software and stored as files on the hard disc of my home computer, on home directory at the university and on a USB device and sometimes printed out. Some of the relevant material objects have been saved in their original form (such as menus, labels, packages of the food products), others photographed, recorded on video tape and then transferred onto the cd-roms, files on the hard disc of my home computer, on home directory at the university and on a USB device. Actional material has been captured by video camera, through the video function of a digital photo-camera and/or by the notes in the ethnographic field journal, which have been subsequently transferred into the Evernote.

While these research activities were carried out to insure preservation of the “actual happenings” and thereby to facilitate “genuine analysis” of interaction, advocated so strongly by such scholars as Harvey Sacks (Sacks, 1992, p. 26), David Silverman (Silverman, 1998), Konrad Ehlich (Ehlich, 1993, p. 124), they also vividly demonstrate that despite all of the efforts of the researcher to record and preserve data in the manner as close to the original as possible and despite all of the technological recourses that are currently available for this task, and perhaps even more so *because* of them, recontextualisation and semiotic transformation of data begins already from the first steps of the empirical work. These inevitable semiotic shifts entail that neither complete preservation and identical replication of the original material can be guaranteed or achieved in the process of data collection and representation, nor can they be singled out as the criteria by which we measure the ‘neutrality’, ‘objectivity’ or ‘genuinity’ of the subsequent analysis. Instead, I believe it to be much more significant to focus on the explicit and exhaustive description and discussion of the techniques and technologies that we use for collecting and handling interactional material and the ways in which we use them as well as of the implications of that for the research project.

In the case of my investigation, placially and temporarily extensive ethnography, which I have conducted, as well as its participant character entails that the recording techniques that I have used have not been, and could not possibly have been, uniform and consistent throughout the fieldwork. That means, for instance, that some co-present conversations have been recorded both on an audio and video recorder, some only on one of those media, others were collected in the form of the field notes. The most obvious reason for this fact is that absolute majority of the meetings of Rusmam and the Russian school have taken place in the physical location with multiple rooms. For example,

in Vejgaard school in Aalborg, where the Russian school meetings, and hence conversational occurrences, took place simultaneously in two classrooms, a gymnasium and a changing room. Moreover, even in the same room interaction has usually stretched across in multiple conversational groups, which required from me some form of omnipresence that I have achieved to some extent by placing different recording devices at different interactional locations and then attempting to participate myself in as many conversational events as possible. As a result some of the semiotically analogous forms of interaction were recorded on different forms of media and with different level of detail.

Another highly significant facet of my research that led to the heterogeneity of the modes and techniques of data collection is linked to the complexity of my ethical obligations to the participants of the research (these obligations are extensively described and discussed in Chapter 6 of my thesis). My determination to respect individual and diverse needs and demands of the people involved regarding their privacy, anonymity, personal reservations in connection with being photographed, etc. has demanded from me to be very selective and very cautious with regard to what form of recording I use in each interactional context. The same ethical considerations cause certain inconsistency in the level of detail of the context that I present for each data excerpt as well as in the amount and character of information, which I exclude from the analysis in the case of some interactional occasions in order to guard participants' privacy.

The aforementioned circumstantial, technical and ethical aspects of my research led to the fact that not all of the interactional events, actors' experiences and actions, to which I had an access in the course of my ethnographic work, have been recorded and preserved and not all of those, which have been collected, were collected in a manner that was optimal for the subsequent analysis and discussion. The process of selection and dismissal of material, which were to become my research data, has sometimes been conscious and reflective, guided by the methodological and theoretical principles described in the previous chapter or by ethical concerns. Sometimes, it has been unconscious or even unwanted result of technical or pragmatic circumstances or biases of my own personal and research interests. However, I find it crucial to emphasise that none of these intended or unwanted, thought-through or unconscious divergences from the phantom ideal of neutrally and impartially collected and authentically preserved data undermine my ability to conduct meaningful, critical and profound analytical examination of highly important matters of transnational living and identity construction, which I strive to address in my research. A certain

degree of partiality and randomness, the so called ‘subjectivity’, is present in every research activity of every project. Neither silencing this fact nor engaging in fruitless attempts to rectify it can bring us closer to the illusive standard of ‘research objectivity’. Meanwhile, placing the moments of empirical work, which are vulnerable in terms of research subjectivity, into the critical and analytical spotlight, does not only compensate for the inevitable biases of the research but also makes its design more transparent and strengthens both the analytical process and the inferences drawn on the basis of it.

Challenges connected to dealing with multimodal data are not limited to the process of its collection. Preparing the recorded and stored multimodal data for the analysis involves finding an appropriate and optimal way of visualising, spatially arranging and encoding for each of the earlier enumerated semiotic modes present in the collected material. All of these forms of data presentation, despite their obvious diversity, have to be manageable, readable, systematic and consistent yet easily extended and modified to adapt to the demands of the multiple interpretive cycles. Moreover, and more importantly, representing multimodal data requires designing the apt way to reflect those shifts of modality and links between semiotically diverse inscriptions and recourses, which the actors have generated and formed through their participation in various interaction orders and their engagement in everyday practices and which are captured in my data. Interaction does not occur divided into segregated, clear-cut semiotic formats.

Neither oral speech, written language nor visual images or gestures are accomplished by the actors in the easily distinguishable, sequential manner. Instead, all of these forms of modality become constantly and closely intertwined, modified and recontextualised as people utilise them in their complex, multi- linear interactional practices. Therefore, the task of representing and analysing these practices cannot and should not be approached as a sum of separate transcription techniques and individual analytical treatments. As Gunther Kress (Kress, 2010, pp. 96,97) stresses, every transcriptional technology and every form of *literacy*, which allows us to apply this transcription and retrieve information from it, has its potentials and limitations. Every transcriptional resource covers a certain semiotic spectrum and leaves other semiotic spectrums behind. Interaction, which is produced and performed through the interjunction of semiotic formats and medial modes can be represented only through the interjunction of transcriptional techniques and technologies. Therefore, within the framework of my research, I employ the principle of *multimodal representation* (Kress, 2010, p. 97). This implies that to ensure that in each segment of the represented data I show “a

many-dimensioned picture of human realities” (Powdermaker, 1966, p. 283, as cited in Moerman, 1988, p. 13) captured by my empirical material, I employ a variety of the presentational modes, such as written text, punctuation signs, colour, layout, images, graphics, etc., available through a variety of technological tools, for instance, graphic computer programmes, image software, digital photo camera. As a result, I transform multiple, semiotically diverse segments of data and their dynamics into diagrams, tables and schemes that project complex, non-linear transformations of modality, spatial and medial dispersion and on-going connecting, which are involved in transnational practices and which I trace, map out and examine within the framework of my project<sup>34</sup>. Having said that, I shall now begin to account more specifically for those methodological and analytical considerations as well as technical, graphic and coding choices that I have made in generating the system of data representation, which meets general and research-specific demands highlighted earlier in this chapter: such as readability, visual clarity, aptness for hermeneutic interpretational process, sensitivity to the ethical requirements, optimality for the theoretical and methodological presuppositions of the project and multimodality.

## II. REPRESENTING ORAL DISCOURSE: AN APPROACH TO TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION

Oral discourse, which represents one of the aspects of my data archive, is a form of linguistic data, which has traditionally received the largest attention in the studies on interaction. Scholars occupied with these studies unanimously agree that one of the most essential aspects of the analysis of this data involves the production of transcripts (Edwards, 1993; Ehlich, 1993; Sacks, 1992; Silverman, Harvey Sacks: Social Science and Conversation Analysis, 1998; Gumperz, 1993). This process refers to the task of designing or/and choosing and applying a coding system that would allow the researcher to convey the recorded spoken data from the audial into the textual format, which can be accessed and managed through conventional printed paper medium or/and with the computer technology and which would visualize and make available for the analysis those discursive elements that the researcher finds significant on each specific stage of the interpretive cycle. While

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<sup>34</sup> See, e.g.: Transcript 9: Conversation during Rusmam Playgroup Meeting, September 21, 2008;

Figure 20: Transnational Connecting in the Construction of National Category: Transcript 9

such directions of interactional research as discourse analysis, conversation analysis and ethnography have over the past decades generated several alternatives to the aforementioned coding systems, which range in the level of detail, layout and symbolic choices, they all strive to represent data in a manner that is:

- Exhaustive (covering as many speech categories and linguistic phenomena as possible)
- Contrastive (including categories devised as mutually exclusive alternatives)
- Drawing upon readers' expectations and the competences, which they have already acquired in dealing with the conventional written materials
- Selective and clear (not overburdening the researcher with the details and information that is not directly relevant to a particular analytical moment) (Edwards, 1993, pp. 5,6)

Within the framework of my research I shall realise the aforementioned imperatives by drawing on the approach to transcribing of conversational exchanges developed by John J. Gumperz (Gumperz, 1993). Developed in the course of participatory ethnographic work, this transcriptional system is based on the principle of *situated interpretation*, that is, it “focuses on speaker’s and listener’s use of verbal and nonverbal signs both to convey or understand information and to maintain what Goffman calls ‘conversational involvement’” (Gumperz, 1993, p. 92). In treating transcriptional process from a “basically functional perspective”, Gumperz advocates concentrating only on those conversational features “that can be shown to affect situated interpretation at the interactive or relational level as well as at the level of content” (Gumperz, 1993, p. 92). Such an *interpretive* rather than *absolute* (Gumperz, 1993, p. 92) view on representation of interactional data is very much apt to the empirical and analytical premises of my research, which involves an exceptionally heterogeneous and extensive data archive. Highly dynamic, participatory, long-term, multisemiotic, empirical work that lies at the basis of nexus analysis, which I carry out in the course of my project, implies that I can neither “record everything that can be heard” (Gumperz, 1993, p. 119) or, in the case of my examination - observed, read, tasted, participated in, browsed, downloaded, etc. - nor to transcribe it and provide exact measures to it. Moreover, such an all-inclusive, relentlessly detailed, presenting of data would not be beneficial to my research. This is not because I do not realise the significance of paying attention to “the fine metric and scale” (Moerman, 1988, p. 13) of conversational organization, but because within the limits of my analysis I am interested not in the absolute but in *the interpretive evaluation* (Gumperz, 1993, p. 92) of their role and functioning, that

is in relation to other features of a specific interactional event and matters of a specific analytical context.

However, in the context of my project, the task of data presentation cannot be resolved through merely finding an applying an appropriate system of transcription conventions. The previously-addressed challenging aspects of my research related to data managing become even more complicated by the fact that interaction, which forms the empirical basis of the project, takes place in Russian. While using translated data in interactional research is neither a novel nor rare phenomenon, it certainly requires an additional discussion, which is inseparable from the previously-addressed matters of data visualisation and transcription.

In dealing with multilingual challenges posed by *culturally contexted conversation analysis*, Michael Moorman (1988) emphasises that “translation remains an ‘indirectly controlled guess’ (Richards 1932:7), not mechanically determined process whose products are straightforward correct/incorrect” (p. 6). In the context of western research practice, non-English data “does not speak for itself”. In making it talk English “every practitioner of conversation analysis, like every conversant, every ethnographer (e.g., Haviland 1977; Rosaldo 1980:20, f.), every social thinker and investigator trades on his knowledge of language” (Moerman, 1988, pp. 5, 36, 37). Within the framework of my research I shall also be relying on this arbitrary and imperfect knowledge to produce English equivalents of oral and written Russian-speaking conversational segments. In the tradition of conversation analysis the adequacy of such work is evaluated through two criteria: sequential and interactional (Moerman, 1988, p. 6). Such scholars as Moerman (1988), Gumpers (1993), Paoletti (1998), Du Bois (1993), Schuetze-Coburn (1993), Cumming (1993) and Paolino (1993) realize the aforementioned criteria through a complex multi-level transcription, which includes text-line in the language of the original data, phonemic orthography of the non-English text-line, word-for-word glosses and English translation line. Such a detailed translation of phonemic, morphemic and semantic levels of each utterance does not only convey interactional value of data but also the way it is realised sequentially and functionally in the language of its production.

However, rather than being concerned with the functional linguistic matters of interaction, my investigation focuses on the mechanisms of discursive and social networking that occurs within this interaction and that enables and mediates transnational practices. Therefore, in producing the English equivalent of Russian conversational data, I hold as the main “relevant unit of meaning” in



my translations not the word or functional sequence of a specific text-line but the message (Nida, 1959, p. 190, as cited in Moerman, 1988, p. 6). Following researchers such as Michal Krzyżanowski (2008) and Dennis Day (1998), to represent discursive segments of my data I shall be using “a simplified transcription convention” (Krzyżanowski, 2008, p. 170) applied on the English translation of the Russian speech. It should be emphasised that this criss-cross between transcription and translation should in no way be interpreted as an attempt to generate “‘transcription-like’ English translations”, which might give “a false impression of authenticity (Day, 1998, p. 154)” of the translated data excerpts and their complete and uncontested equivalency to the original speech. Instead, this mode of data presentation is a way of conveying, converting into English and visualising discourse through

- translation of oral and written speech,
- presentation of para-verbal and non-verbal behaviour
- production in English of “rough approximation” (Day, 1998, p. 153) of those elements of speech behaviour (for instance increase or decrease in the speech tempo, overlap, etc.) that are significant to a specific interactional context and to the interpretative purposes of a specific analytical segment. This goes in line with the functional, situated, interpretation-oriented form to data presentation (Gumperz, 1993) whose significance to my research was emphasised earlier in this chapter.

Below I shall describe the graphic, symbolic and spatial features through which I realize the aforementioned approach to handling translated data.

In the course of the analysis each data excerpt will be introduced with a header consisting of a short description of a conversational event, its place and date. To differentiate between segments of data in the form of oral discourse and excerpts of the computer-mediated conversations as well as to make clearer their indexing and cross-referencing, the former will be labelled as *Transcripts*, while the latter will be addressed to as *Excerpts*. All the transcripts that appear in the analysis are collected in the Appendices section of the thesis (Appendices III.20-28). As outlined in Chapter 3, while the methodological approach, which I developed in order to examine the actors’ interaction, does borrow certain analytical tools emerged within the tradition of conversation analysis (e.g. membership categorization device), it does not focus on the interaction from the CA perspective, i.e. by looking for particular outcomes (a repair, a request, laughter) in every “hearable level of detail” in talk (Sacks, 1995, p. 580, as cited in Silverman, 2000, p.222; Silverman, 2000, p. 235).

Therefore, the transcripts are included in the appendices not to provide an additional and very detailed presentation of the structure of the conversations examined in the analysis (which is a common practice with CA analysis) but to facilitate the navigation through the dissertation and to clarify the temporal and placial context within which these conversations were recorded in the course of the ethnographic work.

Transcripts of the translated co-present interaction will be framed to insure that they stand out visually in the body of the written text. Each new speaker's turn will be entered on a separate line with a participant identifier. A new line will be also used to enter a speech unit produced by the same speaker but after a pause, which is considerably longer than other pauses of a conversational event in focus and which therefore can indicate a missed turn. In this case the line will have no participant identifier. Depending on the anonymity demands expressed by each actor, participant identifiers will take the form of a capitalized short first name<sup>35</sup> or a capitalized first latter of a short first name followed by a colon mark. I have chosen this practice as I believe it respects participants' contribution to the research, their presence in it as well as bringing ethnographic context into the analysis much more strongly than some other common ways of indicating speakers (for instance, "A:", "B:", "C:"... or "S1:", "S2:", "S3:"... formats). When the speaker cannot be identified, a capital "U" ("unidentifiable") with the followed by a successive number and a colon mark will be used (for instance, "U1:"). To indicate several speakers (particularly in case of para-verbal or non-verbal behaviour, such as laughter) I shall use a participant identifier "MANY". To facilitate data referencing in the course of the analysis and to make it easier for the reader to navigate around it the lines within each transcript will be numbered. Because correlation between prosody and interactional purpose of an utterance in Russian language is different from English, indicating rising or falling intonation in the end of a speech turn would be meaningless and confusing. Instead, I shall be using syntactic punctuation marks ".", "?" and "!" to indicate declarative, interrogative and exclamatory utterances respectively. Using the aforementioned marks, recognisable to the speakers of English and common to both English and Russian languages, allows me to convey intonational and interactional values of Russian speech in an English transcription in way, which is clear and easily decodable. When it is significant for the analysis to keep a certain element of Russian speech in an English translation or when a particular word is difficult to translate, they will be placed in square parentheses and conveyed through what Konrad Ehlich refers to as *literary transcription* –

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<sup>35</sup> If a particular participant is commonly addressed in the recorded interaction by a long first name, correspondently, a capitalized long first name will be used as a participant identifier.

using written orthography (in this case, written orthography of English language) to transcribe “departures from standard orthographic rendering of an item” (in this case, elements of Russian speech) “in a manner that is meaningful to someone familiar with the orthographic system as a whole” (Ehlich, 1993, p. 126). I believe that in the context of social semiotic analysis, which I conduct within the framework of my research and which is not concerned with the phonetic system and phonemic practices in Russian language, the aforementioned way of transcribing Russian phonetic units is quite sufficient and using an alternative transcription system, such as the International Phonetic Alphabet for instance, would merely overburden the analysis with the unnecessary information. In addition the first time a particular Russian word is used in the transcription it will be provided with a footnote explaining the meaning and origin of this word in English. Footnotes will also be used for my own remarks in order not to disrupt a transcription.

The following table lists the aforementioned symbols and their functions as well as other transcription symbols used to present para-verbal and non-verbal interactional behaviour when it is significant. These transcription conventions are based on HIAT (Heuristic Interpretative Audio-video Transcription) system (Ehlich, 1993) and its use by Michal Krzyżanowski (Krzyżanowski, 2008):

**Table 2: Transcription Convention Used for Presentation of Co-present Interaction**

<i>Transcript 2: Conversation during Rusmam "without children get-together", September 6, 2008</i>	• Transcript Header
Tanja:	• Participant Identifier
Z:	• Participant Identifier (anonymized)
U1:	• Unidentified Speaker
Many:	• Multiple Speakers
.	• Declarative Utterance
?	• Interogative Utterance
!	• Exclamatory Utterance
..	• Short Pause (not absolute but relative to the other within a specific conversational event)
...	• Long Pause (not absolute but relative to the other within a specific conversational event)
[tvorog]	• Russian Speech
(incomp.)	• Incomprehensible speech
WHEN	• Accentuated/Stressed Element of Speech (because of the grammatic and idiomatic differences between Russian and English languages morphemes marked as stressed in English transcription may or may not correspond directly to the morphemes in of the original Russian speech unit)
//Baltic countries//	• Overlap (overlapping elements of speech will be positioned underneath each other)
<<Polish of course>>	• Increased Tempo (when significant and relatively to the tempo of the rest of the conversation)
>> <<	• Decreased Tempo (when significant and relatively to the tempo of the rest of the conversation)
< >	• Increased loudness (when significant and relatively to the loudness of the rest of the conversation)
> <	• Decreased loudness (when significant and relatively to the loudness of the rest of the conversation)
(laugh)	• Non-verbal behaviour
Oh	• Para-verbal elements
/	• Rising Tone (when significant)
\	• Falling Tone (when significant)

### III. MANAGING COMPUTER-MEDIATED DATA

As opposed to audio and video data, computer-mediated interaction is self-transcribed, which obviously reduces the work load connected to its preparation for the analysis. Using website and screen capture software has allowed me to save and store large segments of the on-line forum conversations on Rusforum in a way that completely preserves the original discursive, linguistic, iconic, symbolic, graphic, layout and hypermedial elements through which these conversations have occurred. This certainly places this type of my research data rather high on the “scale” of authenticity. Nevertheless, it poses a number of challenges associated with its visualisation and presentation in the course of the analysis. Some of the aforementioned challenges, such as the demands and problematics of working with translated data, have already been addressed earlier in this chapter; others are specific to computer-mediated interaction. Below I shall discuss these issues as well as the ways in which I have chosen to tackle them.

Computer-mediated data carries enormous potential for numerous research areas. This potential lies in the multiplicity and complexity of semiotic forms and connections between them engaged in the production and reproduction of meaning that takes place within computer-mediated interaction. It is by registering and describing this richness and fluidity of modal presentations that researchers are able to access and address the complexity of discursive and social mechanisms and diversity of material, medial and ideational recourses involved in people’s practices. In the context of my research, which strives to capture and discuss transnational practices as they are being accomplished across medial and semiotic borders within and through the on-going discursive construction and articulation of meaning, representing the aforementioned modal complexity, making it visible and accessible for analytical processing is imperative. To insure this, in the course of the analysis I display the relevant segments of computer-mediated data in their original form with the exception of those elements exposing which would jeopardize privacy of the participants. In handling computer-mediated data, I follow the same general principles regarding presentation of research data as I have delineated earlier in this chapter. One of those principles refers to the significance of conducting ethically mindful research considerate of and considering the matters of participants’ anonymity and privacy. An extensive and profound discussion of the ethical aspect of my investigation in general and in relation to compute-mediated interaction in particular is carried out in Chapter 6 of my thesis. In relation to the current discussion, I shall merely note that, due to the ethical considerations, in visualising computer-mediated data I shall remove all of its features that

might put at risk the anonymity of the participants. Thus, in representing segments of the original data I shall graphically block such elements as participants' names and nicknames, avatars, icons, e-mail addresses, nationality and residency indicators and date of registering on the forum. In addition, the aforementioned features will not be covered by the translation or omitted from it and substituted by a description of the type of information excluded placed in square brackets (for instance, "[NAME OF THE PARTICIPANT]").

Square brackets will be also used mark that a part of the interaction is excluded from a translation ("[...]"). This symbol will be used in those few cases when the relevant to the analysis conversational material emerges in a context of a large conversational event with multiple interactants participating and with multiple quotations from the preceding conversations added to each speech segment. In such cases interaction data is generated through a complex frame-in-frame layout of multiple conversational lines, translating each of which completely would overload a translated data excerpt with the interactional material making it hard to single out relevant to the analysis material both for the analyst and for reader.

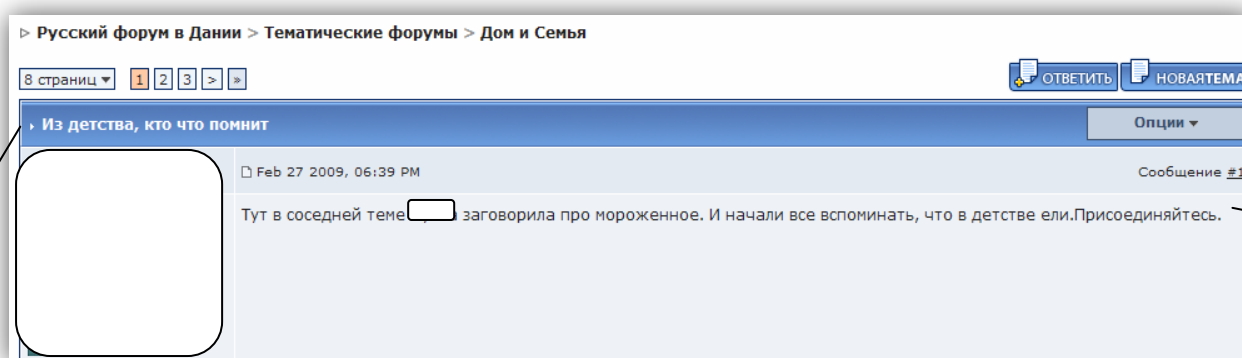
My approach to translation of computer-mediated elements of the data archive into English largely rests on the same line of reasoning that I have presented in relation to my treatment of oral discourse data. That is - while realizing the arbitrary character of translation practice, which relies on the individual, contestable linguistic competences of the researcher and is inevitably influenced by his or her personal biased understanding and interpretation of a message, I strive to produce English equivalents of Russian interaction, which conveys both: the content, the context and the semiotic form of the message. Below I shall describe and discuss those graphic, linguistic and symbolic solutions through which I realize the aforementioned imperative.

One of the difficulties of translation data generated on-line is associated with the complexity of the layout and multiplicity of messages, which are present in each interactional segment. In connection to that it is important to notice that my translation of data produced on Rusforum will not cover technical, statistical and functional information, such as a message and page numbers, route lines, reply, option and other navigation and functional fans, dates, visual and written signatures of the participants, etc., unless this aspects of data segments are directly relevant to a specific interactional and analytical context. By choosing to present in English only those elements of data, which are directly involved in the current conversational event I meet such significant criteria of data

presentation, put forward and discussed earlier in this chapter, as clarity and readability, absence of informational overload and situatedness of the represented material.

In addition, to deal with graphically, spatially and functionally complicated layout of data and to make the link between the original data excerpts and their translation as visible and explicit as possible, I have chosen to place English equivalent of each conversation turn in a separate caption box connected by a line to the exact line of the original data, which is being translated. This graphic solution does not only make transcription process more transparent to the reader but it also insures that data excerpts are manageable and easy to navigate through in the course of the analysis (see Figure 11 )


**Figure 11: Spatial and graphic solutions to the presentation of multimodal, translated computer-mediated data**



Furthermore, in presenting the excerpts of computer-mediated data in the analysis, I refer the reader to the web-addresses of the sites within which a particular data segment was recorded. This is accompanied by the references to the Appendices section of the thesis (Appendices III.1-19) where I include the screenshots of the interactional events within which the conversational exchanges under examination occurred and of the websites whose elements I examine in the analysis. While I strive to provide as much context as possible to the computer-mediated data examined in this



project, including complete interactional encounters (and complete websites) in this thesis was not possible as they very often stretch across hundreds of web-pages and/or multiple discussion topics. Therefore, the screenshots included in the appendices represent the interactional context adjacent to the conversational exchange (or an element of a website) captured in a particular data excerpt, i.e. those turn-at-talks that are produced within the same page of the discussion topic as the forum messages analyzed and those web-pages which are involved in the analysis.

As emphasised earlier in this section, conveying and visualising, in both original and translated versions of data, the rich and meaningful interplay between multiple semiotic recourses, which the participants routinely and skilfully employ in their discursive practices on-line, is a necessary condition for conducting the analysis, which I carry out within the framework of my research. This analysis strives to understand current mechanisms of the identity construction and of social practices that are increasingly taking place across national, ethnic, cultural and linguistic borders and across multiple off-line and computer-mediated sites. Therefore, in converting elements of Russian, computer-mediated interaction into English I aim at conveying diverse semiotic resources as well as diverse uses of these resources in way, which is as close to the original as possible. Thus for instance, in the translated data excerpts I employ emoticons used in the original conversation not by converting them into the symbols available from the keyboard and in the text programmes (for instance, “☺” or “:-)”) but by transferring them with the help of the snapshot software (for instance, “”). Based on the same considerations, I keep in the translated data excerpts the original use of punctuation. This is due to the fact that in the context of computer-mediated communication, punctuation marks are not only used to convey interactional values of utterances, such as declarative, interrogative, etc., but they also serve as powerful cues of prosody, phonology, rhythm, tone, modulation and non-verbal behaviour, which play a significant role in organization of conversation and in the discourse construction strategies on-line. For instance, usage of a dash in “А--Н-ЕТ”<sup>36</sup> indicates decrease in tempo, multiple question marks, “??????”, might be interpreted as a rising tone and a stressed speech element, while multiple brackets “))))” convey laughter and so on.

For the same reason I keep unconventional capitalizations that are meaningful to the conversation, which sometimes indicate a stressed speech element as, for instance, when capitalisation of

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<sup>36</sup>< <http://rusforum.dk/index.php?showtopic=20369&st=0&#entry299954>>, Appendix III.12

“CPA3Y”<sup>37</sup> - “RIGHT AWAY” (English), clearly suggests speaker’s desire to accentuate this word (which in the case of co-present interaction might have been accomplished by an increase in loudness). Other times unconventional uses of capitalized letters denote phonemic deviations that add, for instance, a sarcastic tone to the conversation. For example, in the phrase “даЦкие жёны”<sup>38</sup> – “daNish wives”, a capitalised middle letter in the word “даЦкие” - “daNish” (English), puts an usual phonemic emphasis on a fricative consonant “Ц”, which in oral speech would have been fulfilled by a longer and louder pronunciation of this sound producing a mocking or sarcastic effect.

The same discursive function is often fulfilled by deviations from the standard Russian orthography. In the process of translation I aim at transferring the aforementioned departures by using the same modifying strategy as was employed by the participants in the original interaction. Such strategies, for example, might consist in substituting voicing consonants with their fricative pairs or/and repeating them, like in the following example: “любофффф”<sup>39</sup> (from “любовь”), which I translate in to English as “loffffe”, or “хто”<sup>40</sup> (from the Russian “что”), which I have chose to translate as “zat” (from the English “that”).

The same approach is applied to project into English translations the discursive effects produced by departures from the standard Russian grammar, for instance, when I reproduce in the English versions the omissions of the subjects or predicates that might be interpreted as a shift from a formal conversational tone to more personal one or from a serious conversational topic to more trivial. Clearly, the aforementioned meaningful deviations from the standard use of grammatical and orthographic resources should not be confused with the typos and with those departures from the standard written language that have become normalised within computer-mediated communication (such as abbreviations, simplified spelling, etc.) to fit the high-tempo, multi-linear character of on-line interaction. While the latter features of computer-mediated discourse are very interesting, they are not directly relevant to my analytical goals and, therefore, will not be conveyed in the translation.

Similarly to the oral discourse segments of my data, translating certain elements of computer-mediated speech from Russian into English sometimes requires keeping the Russian original. This

<sup>37</sup> <<http://rusforum.dk/index.php?showtopic=20369&st=0&#entry299954>>, Appendix III.12

<sup>38</sup> <<http://rusforum.dk/index.php?showtopic=18902&st=20>>, Appendix III.13

<sup>39</sup> <[Http://rusforum.dk/index.php?showtopic=18902&st=20](http://rusforum.dk/index.php?showtopic=18902&st=20)>, Appendix III.13

<sup>40</sup> <<http://rusforum.dk/index.php?showtopic=14855>>, Appendix III.14

is particularly relevant to the names of the food products (“Moskovskije” sweets) and dishes (“pelmeni”, “shaverma”, “tvorog”, etc.). As these elements are either not translatable or difficult to translate and as they often play an iconic role in the process of discourse construction, I have chosen to reproduce them in English translations by using transliteration also applied in transcribing oral conversational data. Such a transcription will be accompanied by a footnote including the original Russian speech element, the English equivalent, which I have generated in the course of the translation, and explanation of the meaning and origin of the word. Because Microsoft Word document application does not support attaching footnotes to the text within graphic items, such footnotes will be attached to the headline of the data segment (For instance, “*Excerpt I*”<sup>41</sup>). Para-verbal speech elements such as “mmm” and “aaa” will also be kept in their original form in the translation segments as in the context of computer-mediated communication they are articulated through unconventional orthography, which makes it very hard to identify, which of the English equivalents is applicable in each case.

Transliteration will also be used in connection to the transcription of code switching, that is of those conversational moments when the participants use the so-called *translit*<sup>42</sup> to express elements of Danish, English or other Latin alphabet languages through Cyrillic letters. On these occasions, I use transliteration to convert the language item in focus once again into the symbols of Latin alphabet making it readable to the English-speaking readers. For instance, when in the course of one of the conversations on Rusforum, a participant mentions ”картофлекеа”<sup>43</sup> (A translit from Danish “kartoffelkage”) I convey it the English translation not in its standard orthographic Danish form but as “kartoflekea”, which better reflects code-switching practices and their outcome.

In the process of translation I shall also strive to transfer into English equivalents idiomatic expressions, parts of the colloquial speech, usages of slang and of social vernacular. For example, when one of the forum’s participants refers to St. Petersburg as “Питер”<sup>44</sup> I translate it into English as “Peter” thereby projecting the informal character of the conversation and marking the shared by the participants vernacular.

<sup>41</sup> “Vatrushki” (from Russian “Ватрушки”) – Russian pastry with cottage cheese

“Shaverma” (from Russian “Шаверма”) – Shawarma

“Pelmeni” (from Russian “Пельмени”) – dumplings made of various types of meat filling wrapped in dough then frozen, boiled or fried

<sup>42</sup> This transliteration method is specific to the Russian-speaking users of Internet and has emerged in the beginning of computerisation when soft- and hardware supporting Cyrillic alphabet was nonexistent or hard to obtain

<sup>43</sup> <<http://rusforum.dk/index.php?showtopic=14855>>, Appendix III.14

<sup>44</sup> <<http://rusforum.dk/index.php?showtopic=14855>>, Appendix III.14

The enumerated above graphic, spatial, transcriptional and translational strategies of visualising and preparing for the analysis computer-mediated data are anchored in the situated, interpretative, ethically-mindful approach to data presentation, which I have developed earlier in this chapter. However, as it was made vivid in the course of the discussion carried out with the framework of this section, semiotic, medial, functional and graphic richness of this type of data sets specific requirements in relation to its presentation and translation. Meeting these requirements is particularly significant in the context of my research as it aims at mapping out and discussing the aforementioned multimodal complexity and its role in mediating and enabling transnational living.

#### **IV. VISUAL DATA: ITS TYPES, FUNCTIONS AND MODES OF PRESENTATION IN THE ANALYSIS**

Another significant aspect of my data archive, whose role and presentation modes in the analysis yet remain to be discussed, is visual data. Within the framework of my research this form of data is represented by several types of images:

- Photographs
- Snapshots of video recordings
- Screenshots of websites and various elements of their layout relevant to the analysis.

Each of the aforementioned forms of visual discourse will serve multiple analytical purposes. Some of the images, such as photographs of goods sold in the “Russian” shop, “Sadko”, images of food products exhibited by the participants on Rusforum, snapshots from video recordings of Rusmam and the Russian school meetings depicting the dishes, which the actors prepare for their children or for the parties, etc., will emerge in the analysis as independent data segments. These fragments of reality, frozen in time and place, preserved and displayed for analytical purposes, record and visualize diversity and multiplicity of ways in which materiality and discursivity come together within the mundane practices of the actors and which I shall be able to map out and discuss through analysing the aforementioned visual elements of my data archive.

In other cases, the images will serve as visual anchorage in the analysis of oral discourse, for instance, the photographs and snapshots from video recordings of Rusmam and the Russian school meetings, which will be used to illustrate a particular conversation transcript. On some occasions, such visual captions to the transcripts of verbal discourse will portray the actual conversational event, and its participants, represented in a transcript. When such visual data is not available due to the pragmatic and ethical reasons described earlier in this chapter, presentations of oral discourse might be anchored in the images that were not recorded at the same time when the conversation in focus occurred but which, however, illustrate similar conversational setting, or other participants engaged in the same activity. To differentiate between these data functions as well as to facilitate readability, clarity and manageability in data presentation, emphasised earlier in this chapter, each image will be accompanied by a header including a consecutive number of an image, date of its recording and a short description of the material depicted by it.

All of the aforementioned uses of visual data are crucial for conducting multimodal analysis of complex, stretching across various semiotic modes and discursive and social sites of people engagement, networking practices that I carry out within the framework of my investigation. In addition, such extensive and diverse usage of visual data serves as a powerful mechanism for bringing into the analysis the ethnographic context, within which the analytical material is produced. Such contextualisation of analytical process once again realises the situated, multimodal perspective to data presentation developed in this chapter. Even more importantly, it goes in line with the theoretical and methodological premises of my research, which in all of its aspects keeps the spotlight of theoretical and analytical discussion on the actors, their acts, actions and their participation in the research.

## V. CHAPTER SUMMARY

Michael Moerman writes that “ethnography’s central and sacred data” is what people say and do “as part of socially organized scenes” (Moerman, 1988, p. 8). The nexus analysis, which I conduct within the framework of my research, focuses on such data – on the “droppings of talk” (Moerman, 1988, p. 8), of acts, actions and activities that I have collected in the course of several years of multi-sited participant ethnography that represent an empirical aspect of my project.

Some scholars insist that such a collection and the way it is being handled in the course of the analysis should necessarily embody the “authentic” (Ehlich, 1993, p. 124) reproduction of the “actual details” (Silverman, 1998, p. 61) “as close to the original as possible” (Ehlich, 1993, p. 124). However, in line with Jane Edwards’ argument (Edwards, 1993, pp. 3,4), I believe that no data presentation can be claimed to be neutral, identical replication of the original material free of the bias inflicted by the theoretical, technical, circumstantial and personal contexts within which it has been recorded, preserved and presented. Yet, by explicitly considering and systematically enumerating the underlying assumptions of the chosen representational mode and their implications for the research, we can arrive at the methods of data handling, which are optimally apt for the specific research project, and what is more important, compensate for the “unwanted biases” (Edwards, 1993, p. 4) that are inevitably at work whenever we attempt to access, freeze in time and space and interpret “actual occurrences in their actual sequence” (Sacks, 1984, p. 25, as cited in Silverman, 1998, p. 61).

It is exactly this task that I have undertaken within the framework of this chapter. As is obvious in the discussion above, in the context of my research, accomplishing this task has required much more than a simple act of choosing and faithfully applying a particular transcription convention. The multimodal character of my data archive, the complexity of ethical requirements connected to the participant form of ethnographic work, through which I have collected the aforementioned data, the diversity of technologies and the multiplicity of techniques involved in recording, preserving, storing and representing of the collected material combined with the translational process, which each of the data segments should undergo before they gain voice in the English-speaking community – all of the aforementioned aspects have made considerations and decisions regarding data presentation formats rather complex and demanding. However, I believe that by systematically and attentively addressing graphic, symbolic, spatial and linguistic demands of each semiotic and medial format represented in my data archive and discussing these demands in relation to the analytical and interpretative purposes and contexts of my research, I have managed to arrive at an approach to data presentation, which is most adequate to my investigation. I believe that this approach, which stresses the significance of situated, interpretative, interaction-oriented, multimodal format of data presentation, has allowed me to visualize my research data in a way that is clear, readable and manageable, thereby preparing it for the analytical work, which I carry out further in my thesis. As mentioned earlier, before engaging in this work, I attend to yet another crucial aspect of doing ethnography of practice – ethical concerns and researcher’s responsibility.

## CHAPTER 6: ETHICAL CONCERNS: THEORETICAL AND PRAGMATIC FACETS OF RESEARCHER'S RESPONSIBILITY

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The ethnography of transnational networking practices, which I conducted within the framework of my project and which draws on the strategies of Nexus Analysis (Scollon & Scollon, 2004), provided me with the exceptionally extensive, and semiotically diverse data archive on which I shall rely in the description and discussion of the complexity of the contemporary transnational mobility that I carry out further in the thesis. However, the deep involvement with the actors and their engagements and active, long-term participation in the social arrangements relevant to them, which this approach to organizing ethnographic work required, posed in front of me a number of ethical challenges. Within the framework of this chapter, I address these challenges by discussing some of existing scholarly treatments of the ethical facets of ethnographic work and by re-evaluating and re-formulating them in relation to my own research experiences and the demands of my project.

One of the main ethical concerns that arises in relation to conducting participatory forms of ethnography (such as the ethnography of practice in which I am engaged in my project) is associated with multiple roles that are partaken by the researcher in relation to his/her participants. Within the framework of my study the complexity of ethical decisions is anchored in the multiplicity of my involvement with the nexus of practice in focus as well as in the multiplicity of the sites of actors' engagement across which this involvement stretched (computer-mediated site Rusforum, Rusmam/the Russian school and the "Russian" shop in Aalborg). This implies that in the course of my ethnographic work I figured simultaneously in different roles: e.g. as a researcher, as a co-organizer of the Russian school, as a member of Rusmam through which and within which this school has come into being, as a participant of Rusforum, etc. My attachment to the social arrangements that enable the nexus of practice around which my ethnography was organized has therefore been shaped not only through my research activities but also through sharing with the actors' involved their concerns (such as parental concerns), their experiences (e.g. migrant experiences) and in some cases...through becoming their friend. The ways in which I began to act in these multiple positionings and became perceived by the participants in these roles had not been pre-defined prior to the beginning of my fieldwork. Instead, these diverse memberships were



constructed during the three years of my engagement with the network via dynamic negotiation of shifting boundaries of belonging to the network and constant restructuring of my attachment to it.

Over the years as I became more and more involved with the nexus of practice in focus, I was also accumulating more and more knowledge regarding the people engaged in such of the nexus as Rusmam/the Russian school and the “Russian” shop - their life stories, personal details of their daily lives, their worries and their hopes, their values and their beliefs, etc. It is this knowledge that allowed me in time to become the fully-fledged participant of the social arrangements, discursive orders and actions circulating through the sites with which I became engaged, thereby providing me with the possibility to collect a unique, rich and extensive data archive on which I rely in my examination. It is also this knowledge, with which the actors entrusted me, and the way I accumulate and handle this knowledge throughout my project that represents the central ethical challenges that I address within the framework of this chapter.

One of these challenges involves the task of determining what information, narratives and experiences I was able to access as a result of the conscious consent of the actors to their participation in the research and what information and experiences I was able to witness, participate in and record because the actors had forgotten about my researcher status and had seen me solely as the member of the Russian school, Rusmam or as their friend. In the beginning of my fieldwork, the boundaries between these two types of data were clear due to the actors' acute awareness of my researcher presence. This awareness was obvious in the glances that they directed at me or my recording equipment in the middle of a conversation with somebody else, in the questions about my research project, its purposes and design that they asked me as well as in the direct requests to stop recording or “it is off the record”-remarks when the conversation started to turn towards particularly sensitive and personal topics. However, the more I was getting involved with the network, the more salient my role as a member of the network, as a mother and as a friend was becoming and the more “blind” the actors seemed to be turning to the signs of my research activities, such as my digital recorder, field journal, video and photo camera, laptop, etc. While I never made any attempts to hide my research activities, they very quickly became integral and invisible aspects of the actors' get-togethers.

In contrast, I never lost a sight of the impact that my research could potentially have on the various aspects of participants' lives. Despite the previously-described fluidity between the borders of my

belonging to the nexus in focus (anchored in the approach to organizing ethnography of practice that I developed in Chapter 3 of the thesis and within which the merging of ethnographic and participatory activities figures as one of the focal elements and despite the multivalency of my participation in it, I remained acutely aware of responsibility that I as a researcher bore for the material with which the participants entrusted me. This awareness goes hand in hand with the firm belief that, in relation to participatory forms of ethnography, implementing this responsibility neither starts nor ends with the achievement of the consent form, which according to Baarts (2010, p. 425), serves as the main focus in the majority of writings on the research ethics.

I argue that doing ethically responsible, or what I would like to term ethically mindful ethnographic research, entails an *ongoing, reflexive, imaginative* and *contextual* recognition and assessment of “ethically important moments” (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004) as well as systematic and explicit discussion of “changing responsibilities towards the people about whom we conduct research” (Baarts, 2010, p. 425). Below I shall continue to account for the ways through which I have arrived at and put into practice the aforementioned ethical criteria within the framework of my research project.

## I. IRRESPONSIBILITY OF DOING OBJECTIVE RESEARCH AND SUBJECTIVITY OF BEING ETHICALLY RESPONSIBLE

***“Multiplicity and partial connection.***

***There is no gold standard.***

***No single reality.***

***Realities may be made and remade.***

***They are made and remade.***

***This is a vision of ontological politics” (Law, 2004, p. 69)***

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Many debates around research ethics are anchored in the demands for the *research objectivity* defined as an ability of a researcher to maintain through a project the so-called *analytical distance* or *neutrality*, which “has always been upheld as an ideal in science” (Baarts, 2010, p. 434). The ethical stand, which is associated with such an ideal, puts on a pedestal impartiality and detachment in research practice. However, a broad stream of academic writings that have appeared over the past

several decades from various directions of socially-sensitive scholarly work, have not merely questioned the sanity of the aforementioned ontological politics but have engaged in profound and extensive reformulation of it. In the works of such authors as Bruno Latour (2005), John Law (2004), Charlotte Baarts (2010), Lorraine Daston (1999), Donna Haraway (1991) etc. the escape from the place, perspective and subjects of the research articulated by the conventional understandings of objective and ethically appropriate scientific practice has been described as “at best a self-delusion” and more often as “a form of irresponsibility” (Law, 2004, p. 68).

The shift in political, moral and ethical framing of research described above has substituted the attempts to see “everything from nowhere” (Haraway, 1991b, p. 189, as cited in Law, 2004, p. 68) with the widely supported realisation that “science is neither value-free nor impartial” (Baarts, 2010, p. 434)” and that objectivity “is only possible if we acknowledge and take responsibility both for our necessary situatedness, and for the recognition that we are located in and produced by sets of partial connections” (Law, 2004, p. 69). Thus, rather than encouraging researchers to flee from the material, social and semiotic relations that they form with the *subjects* of their inquiries, the aforementioned perspective highlights as the main criterion of responsible research practice accountability of researchers for both “promising and destructive monsters” of their explorations (Haraway, 1991b, p. 193, as cited in Law, 2004, p. 68).

Ethical inquiries that adopt this vision of ontological politics are preoccupied with the specifying of the ways in which the aforementioned accountability can and should be put into practice. One of the perspectives, which strives to formulating such ethical guidelines is “relational ethics” (Ellis, 2007), which encourages “epistemological shift from a knower-known relationship to a relationship between ‘two knowing subjects’ (Gunzenhauser, 2006, p. 627)”. Such reframing of the relationship between a researcher and his/her collaborators is highly in sympathy with the theoretical-methodological premises of my investigation based on the conceptual and methodological claims of Actor Network Theory (Latour, 2005; Law, 2004) and Nexus Analysis (Scollon & Scollon, 2004). Both perspectives insist on deep involvement of the researcher with the actors and practices that shape the nexus in focus as well as on replacing the researcher’s monopoly on ‘knowing’ with the recognition of the analytical abilities of the actors, which should be acknowledged and voiced on all of the research stages. In this sense, relational ethics are harmonious with the theoretical and methodological demands of my project, right up to the point when this new relational disposition becomes defined within the aforementioned ethical perspective through “a desire for consensus”

(Baarts, 2010, p. 426). Such an ethical ideal presumes that a research project can be defined by a set of fixed, stabilized meanings, which can be communicated by a researcher to his/her participants in a way that would allow them to reach an identical understanding of these meanings and on the basis of this shared understanding arrive at an agreement or consensus that would define their further relationship. In my view, such consensus is largely unachievable as it treats a research project as “a single reality” as opposed to realities that *may* be and *will* be made and remade and that are built through multiplicity of partial connections (Law, 2004, p. 69), which cannot possibly be defined and fixed through a single and complete agreement between all of the actors involved.

Therefore, rather than engage in a search for such a consensus, within the framework of my investigation, I realise the demands for the new form of researcher-participant relationship put forward by relational ethics through the principles of *authenticity* and *imaginative reflexivity*, emphasised earlier in this chapter. According to Charlotte Baarts (2010), behaving ethically implies, first and foremost, recognising and explicitly articulating one's partiality in a research and exercising reflexively “strong imaginative powers” (p. 434) to predict political and relational consequences of one's own involvement. Such an imaginative work can be only carried out by a researcher who is being “authentic” (Baarts, 2010, p. 436), i.e. is honest with him/herself and his/her research collaborators about political and scientific values of the research project in focus, its goals, motivation behind it and so on. The above-mentioned principles reframe ethical decision making from being a solely rational process driven by the researcher's expert knowledge of political, practical and scientific consequences of his/her actions, to a process, which is also guided by such ambiguous and illusive factors as the researcher's belief in the validity of his/her investigation, his/her commitment to it as well as the researcher's moral convictions. Thus, reflexivity that underpins the ethical dimension of research practice becomes a result of the researcher's ability to apply his/her life experiences to a specific research context and moral awareness of the impact of her/his actions as well as an on-going formulation and discussion of the values, aims and consequences of a specific research project, which is being carried out between all of the research participants. Such a discussion inevitably requires from a researcher multiple reformulations of his/her inquiry, for instance, by elaborating on a specific aspect of the project in response to participants' questions or in connection to moving into the next phase of the project work. That is, it requires from a researcher the aptitude to account for his/actions *contextually* – another criterion of ethically responsible research behaviour, which I have emphasised earlier in this chapter.

## II. DOING BEING ETHICALLY MINDFUL

This acute understanding of the significance of reflexivity, imaginativeness and contextuality in relation to ethical decision making is not only a result of theoretical reflections on the basis of the existing work in ontological politics but is, first and foremost, an outcome of my research experiences connected with doing a long, extensive and highly-participatory form of ethnography. In many ethnographic approaches, the fieldwork, and hence forming of the relations between a researcher and his/her collaborators, begins with a more or less clearly-defined set of sites and actors. The empirical focus of my investigation, however, became formed through doing multi-sited fieldwork, which involved deep engagement with the actors, interaction orders and practices before I could say with any certainty whether they would participate in the further project or not or what would be the format of this participation. This means that my relations with the participants began to shape, and therefore, ethical decisions had to be made, long before the scope of the project and of the actors' participation in it could be defined and, hence, before an informed consent, which is often seen as the researcher's main ethical obligation, could be designed and gained.

Therefore, instead of attempting to pin down the formal parameters of my investigation and to fix it within the framework of "a single reality" (Law, 2004, p. 69), which would inevitably compromise the empirical outset of the research, I began to deal with its ethical requirements by establishing a dialogic zone between myself and people with whom I came in contact. In engaging the nexus of practice (described in discussed in Chapter 4 of the thesis), while I was introducing myself and my project in the course of face-to-face and technology-mediated (e-mails, telephone calls etc.) conversations with the actors, I openly and honestly, described the academic and personal interests that drove me in this project, academic, practical, societal and personal values and goals of my investigation as well as values, impacts and returns, which I could imagine the project producing for the actors, their families, networks etc. For instance, as mentioned earlier in the thesis, I suggested functioning as a photographer at the Rusmam/the Russian school events (parties, meetings and get-togethers) to video-record these and share these records with the other members, to help with writing of the advertisements for Rusmam, with posting on the website of the Danish-Russian Society, etc.

It is only through these repeated, systematic, reflexive and contextual dialogs intertwined with my rapidly increasing participation in the activities of the network in focus that I was able to become

engaged with the network of practice and to map out the goals and potential impacts of my research. Only by sharing my concerns, both academic and personal, in relation to the project and staying tuned to the concerns, needs, questions and interests of the participants, which they revealed in our conversations, I began to understand my own expectations with regard to the roles, which the people involved would have in my research and how these expectations were or might become different from their expectations. Such ethical work was both complex and time-consuming; it required sensitivity, sincere interest in the needs, worries and hopes of the people involved in the network and high degree of commitment, both to my research and to my engagement in the network.

Such work could have never been carried out within the conventional researcher-participants disposition that presumes maintenance of analytical distance, disconnection from the relational and material locations of the research and researcher-monopolised knowing framed as scientific objectivity. Only the above-described intensive and multifaceted connecting with the actors and sites of their engagement and informal negotiation and re-negotiations of the lines along which our relationship were formed enabled me to secure participation in the project, which was respectful and respected in accordance with my own moral evaluation and the moral judgment of the other actors involved.

This work has also equipped me with the personal and relational knowledge about the participants, their concerns and expectations regarding the project, which allowed me to make decisions in relation to many “ethically important moments” (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004) that occurred throughout my fieldwork, for instance, the decisions regarding the type of data, which should be considered confidential, described earlier in the paper. Furthermore, it is on the basis of this dialogic, relational and reflexive ethical work that I developed an informed consent form. Thus, as opposed to asking the participants to consent to a set of meanings and understandings about the project, which I had fixed for them and about which I was *informing* them from the height of my knowing and knowledgeable self, I presented them with what both I and the actors saw as a product of our joint work, designed to reflect issues and concerns that we found mutually significant. Some of the important features of the consent were a detailed description of the forms of material, which I was recording and the ways in which recording took place, possibility for a fully or partially anonymous participation and for re-negotiation of this participation, etc. (see Appendix II: ‘Informed Consent’ Form).

Within the framework of my project I respect the participants' choices with regard to the anonymity, secured in the design of the 'Informed Consent' form, by taking a differentiating approach to representing data, more specifically, to revealing or concealing personal information regarding the participants represented in a specific data segment. What this very concretely means is that, for instance, in relation to representation of co-present interaction in the form of transcript, I use full short or long first names to refer to those participants who did not choose anonymous participation, while I use the first letter of the first name to refer to those participants who made the decision to participate in the project anonymously. Similarly, in the visual presentations of the co-present interaction, i.e. in photographic images and snap shots of video-recordings, I cover graphically the faces of those actors who chose anonymity while leaving the faces of those who did not uncovered. This way of discriminating between the participants in representing data segments in which they are involved is a result of a conscious ethical decision that I have made as I believe that respecting the actors' choice to mark their involvement in the project is as imperative as respecting the choice of the other actors to anonymize their participation. Moreover, respecting the actors' decisions to reveal their names and other personal information in relation to the project serves as a way of recognizing and acknowledging the enthusiasm, encouragement and support of my project, which is what underpins these decisions.

As I have emphasised earlier, researcher's accountability does not stop after gaining the consent of the participants. This realisation is particularly relevant to my research project, which focuses on the practices of transnational networking, mechanism of social, discursive and material relating that implies the flux in membership, connections, acts and actions involved in networking. In relation to ethical aspects of research, this entails that even many years into the project I was constantly confronted with the necessity to step back and engage in the same sensitive and complex job of informal negotiation of my relationship with the new or long-absent members of the network, with which I was pre-occupied in the earlier stages of my investigation. These blurring of the boundaries between various phases of ethical work was extremely beneficial as it provided other members of the network with a 'naturally' occurring opportunity to voice their possible concerns in relation to their role in the project, to ask questions about my research. It also gave me a chance to communicate back to the participants current results of my investigation and to verify my observations and interpretations, thereby triangulating my data and adding new layers to my descriptions. Such "member checks" (Bhattacharya, 2007, p. 1098), might not be as detailed as asking all of the participants to read the transcripts of their conversations, which would be utterly



impossible in the case of multi-sited, multisemiotic, long-term ethnography of networking practices, in which I am engaged. However, they proved to be much more meaningful both to me and to the participants in terms of exercising my ethical responsibilities as a researcher and in terms of doing the ethnography of practice and generating the data archive.

The impossibility of conducting conventional member checks is far from being the only ethical challenge connected to multimodal character of my inquiry. Activities, through which I realise the above-described dialogic and reflexive principles of researcher's responsibility in relation to the co-present moments of participants' interaction, could not be applied to computer-mediated communication. The main computer-mediated site of ethnographic work carried out within the limits of my project is Rusforum. In Chapter 4 of the thesis, I have described the circumference of this site – e.g. the highly large and varying number of the participants engaged in the interaction within this site and highly extensive amount of the diverse, compound and interlinked topics and discussion forums across which this interaction takes place. Obviously, attaining an informed consent from such a large number of participants is not possible, especially taking into consideration an open, flexible and fluid form of participating in and belonging to this on-line network, which entails that many of the posts that figure at some point in my analysis and discussion were published by people who had not visited the forum for years and whom I, therefore, cannot reach.

For the same reason, an on-going and honest discussion of the scope and impact of my research, which serves as the basis of my relationship with the participants in the co-present settings, becomes impossible in relation to the computer-mediated aspects of my ethnography. Moreover, I believe that any upfront exposure of my research presence on the forum would create a confrontation between the participants, thereby compromising and probably making completely impossible any form of ethnographic work on this site. More importantly, I am convinced that such an act, even done with the best intentions, would be inevitably perceived by the users of the forum as an unwanted disruption of their interaction. At worst, it would be considered as an attempt to execute surveillance and control over the participants' lives and would trigger fears and anxieties connected to the decades of state-inflicted violence and human rights violations in Soviet Russia, which are deeply imprinted in their collective and personal memories. That is, it would interrupt, disturb and negatively affect the lives of the participants – which is exactly the opposite of what ethically mindful research is supposed to do. I was able to *imagine* these negative consequences of

applying an explicit, pro-active, dialogic form of ethical work to the ethnography of computer-mediated interaction because I share some aspects of the actors' historical bodies, i.e. of their cultural, national, linguistic background, collective memory etc. In addition, I have discussed the possibility and effects of such an act of research courtesy with those actors of the nexus in focus whom I knew through my participation in Rusmam, the Russian school etc. and who were open about being active and experienced users of Rusforum. Those participants explicitly and passionately advised me not to go ahead with exposing the research aspects of my involvement on Rusforum using the same argumentation, at which I have arrived myself and which I have described above.

There is no way of knowing to what extent these negative consequences would prove to be true. However, being firmly committed to doing my best to prevent my project from becoming offensive, distressing or harmful to the actors and, obviously, not wanting to jeopardize my investigation, I could not afford taking a chance. Instead, I have undertaken a task of developing a set of ethical principles not merely applicable to computer-mediated ethnography but also contextual, that is specific to the goals of my research, to the cultural, historical, social factors that are relevant to the dynamics of interaction, in which people involved in the project are engaged, and that are decisive to what they would consider appropriate or out of place, respectful or offensive etc. The following segment of this chapter outlines these principles and discusses them in relation to the scholarly commentaries preoccupied with the similar ethical issues.

### III. "DOING RIGHT" IN CYBERSPACE

***"Most of us prefer "doing right" to the opposite.  
But sometimes it is not easy to determine  
either what constitutes right conduct or how to do it" (Thomas, 1996, p. 107).***

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My concerns for the consequences of revealing or disguising research practices in computer-mediated sites are shared by a number of scholars that recognize and make use of the unique, rich, multifaceted and extensive data afforded by computer-mediated communication (CMC). My line of

reasoning in relation to making my research presence known to the participants echoes the logic articulated by Storm King (1996, p. 120) who points out that “nonreactive research methods (where the subjects are unaware they are under study) do not necessarily involve deception. They do, however, involve “the lack of consent”, which can be necessary and justifiable as requesting such a consent would cause “a gross disruption of the very process of interest to social scientists” and disturbance of “the interpersonal process being displayed” (King, 1996, p. 120).

“In *Future Shock*, Alvin Toffler observed that the future arrives too soon and in the wrong order. [...] One of the problems arising from the future-is-now expansion of computer technology is establishing the ethics by which scholars ought to proceed when venturing into cyberspace” (Thomas, 1996, p. 107). As pointed out by Jim Thomas in the quote above, on its early stages, CMC developed much too fast for the research to be able to spot, account for and address diverse consequences of examinations conducted based on the data collected in CM fields. This entails the majority of the existing discussions on the ethics of doing CMC research being done retrospectively and is more corrective in their nature rather than prognostic, which makes it different from my own ethical work, which is based on both the on-going efforts to predict possible effects of my research practices as I am carrying them out as well as on the constant incorporation of and reflecting on my most recent research experiences.

Authors such as Jim Thomas (1996), Susan Herring (1996) and Dennis Waskul (1996) point out that the discussions of ethical research behavior in relation to CMC are preyed by acute disagreements. Scholars who are occupied with these discussions are torn by multiple dilemmas, such as whether to take a deontological (rule- and act-following) or teleological (consequentialist) position on the subject (Thomas, 1996, p. 109), whether CMC belongs to public or private spheres, whether securing participants anonymity is a way to guard their privacy or a failure to credit them for their participation, whether CMC is such a unique interactional mode and media that it requires the development of a completely new ethical perspective or whether it is, first and foremost, a resemiotisation of the conventional modes of communication and, therefore, its examinations can be guided by the traditional ethical standards and so on.

In my quest for the ethical guidelines, I was confronted with a similar set of dilemmas, tackling which was particularly difficult in the absence of the agreement among the existing commentaries on the issues in focus. This lack of any clear guidance in relation to what *fair* or *right* CMC research

behaviour is has clearly made my ethnographic work more challenging. At the same time it has also allowed me to realize the importance of the development of such guidelines. However, I insist that these guidelines should figure in research practice not as a set of formal and firm rules (rule-following deontological position) but rather as an assemblage of principles based on the conventional and broad moral and ethical criteria. These criteria should be then carefully weighed and valued by research practitioners against pragmatic, cultural, social etc. contexts of their research projects (act-following deontological position) and their consequences (act-following teleological position), thereby encouraging them to avoid formal and thoughtless adherence to the established and accepted ethical norms, engaging instead in situational and reflexive ethical work.

It is this perspective that I assumed in building up the ethical foundation of my own research. I have started from what Belmont Report defines as “the ethical principles regarding all research involving humans as subject” (Thomas, 1996, p. 110), such as (a) “respect for persons” anchored in the conviction that “individuals should be treated as autonomous agents”, (b) “beneficence” – a principle that “extends the Hippocratic maxim of ‘do no harm’” and (c) “justice [...] placing an obligation on the researcher to assess the distribution of ‘fairness’ toward the research subjects and social interests” (Thomas, 1996, pp. 110-111). Subsequently, I began to translate these general principles into the context of my investigation. One of the first issues, which I addressed in this process, was the public/private distinction in relation to CMC, generally, and on-line aspects of my ethnography, specifically.

The reason for giving this discussion such a priority relates to the fact that scholarly writings on ethical decision making in connection to CMC research are dominated by the disputes around public or private nature of on-line interaction as a way of determining whether in conducting CM ethnographic work the researchers should feel obligated to make such ethical decisions as asking the permission to observe and record the interaction, anonymising the participants, revealing their research presence etc. As Dennis Waskul (1996) points out, in the majority of such discussions the private/public distinction and, therefore, identification of ethically important moments becomes the matter of accessibility. Whether the observed and recorded interaction belongs to a public or private domain and, consequently, whether the researchers can feel free or not to proceed with their practices without taking into consideration interests of the participants involved thus become reduced to determining if the CM space in focus can be entered and observed without registration, login and password information. Following this logic I could have dispensed with any ethical

concerns since as described in Chapter 4, the absolute majority of Rusforum's functions (connected to both reading and posting comments as well as forum's meta-functions, such as search function) can be accessed without any registration requirements.

However, just as Dennis Waskul, I believe that such logic is "an ethically dangerous misconception" (Waskul, 1996, p. 132), which ignores the blurring of boundaries between the public and the private that characterizes social interaction in general and that becomes particularly acute in the case of CMC. As Dennis Waskul (1996) and Storm King (1996) emphasize, such features of CMC as a possibility of entering "public" spaces and discussions from the "private" places (such as home), an interaction dispersed both in time and space, a one-to-many communicational mode, which enables the participants to be engaged in multiple interactional sequences with various levels of intimacy and sensitivity of the themes discussed, can produce among the participants "a perceived sense of privacy" (Waskul, 1996, p. 132; King, 1996). This makes it largely impossible for the researcher to determine whether a particular interactional moment is regarded as private or as public by all of the actors involved in it. However, in the case of Rusforum, it could be argued that the CM space, which I have observed and examined, is public as in the forum's design, outlay, operational structure as well as in the participants' conversations this space often becomes juxtaposed to the so called "private box"<sup>45</sup> or, in the forums vernacular, *Lichka*<sup>46</sup>. Lichka is a forum function, which allows the registered users to exchange private, one-to-one messages, which can only be accessed by the receiver and the sender. This function secures a private communicational space for the users of the forum and is regularly used by most of them, when there is a need to discuss issues that they perceive as sensitive or private. This usually happens in the middle of a many-to-many discussion in the "public" section of the forum when two or more of the participants decide to continue a conversation in Lichka. In addition to Lichka, forum contains another private space, the so called *Fludilka*<sup>47</sup> - a chat room, which can be accessed only by the registered users and entering of which either for reading or participation require a login and a password. The presence of these functions, as well as the fact that the users frequently make use of them, demonstrates that the forum's administrators as well as many of the forum's participants are aware of the public character of the discussions in which they participate outside Lichka and Fludilka. As emphasized in Chapter 4 of the thesis, the interaction taking place within the

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<sup>45</sup> "Private box" - "личный ящик" (Russian) [<http://rusforum.dk/index.php?act=Msg&CODE=02>]

<sup>46</sup> "Lichka" - "личка" (Russian), from Russian "личный" - "private" (English)

<sup>47</sup> "Fludilka" - "флудилка" (Russian), from the English "flood"

framework of the aforementioned private spaces of Rusforum will not be included in the current examination.

As my research practices focus solely on the “public” room of the forum I can argue that my ethnographic work in this CM space is ethically justified. Apart from that I can also evaluate the forum’s level of privacy by following Dennis Waskul’s (1996, p. 133) suggestion to look at the size of the forum and at the nature of themes that are being discussed on it. As Rusforum includes thousands of members interacting across numerous discussion rooms (plus two private rooms: Fludilka and Lichka) currently containing over 15000 discussion themes, I can argue that the size of the forum suggests a low degree of perceived privacy. Similarly, none of the forum’s discussions, which become the source of my research data, contains themes with high degree of sensitivity and perceived privacy, such as “swinging, self-help, recreational drug use, and so on” (Waskul, 1996, p. 133).

Thus, by evaluating the forum’s accessibility, its functional design and the character of the themes discussed as well as, and most importantly, by examining users’ interaction and behaviour on the forum I can conclude that the CM space, within which I carry out my ethnographic work, is an open-access forum, which has a low degree of perceived privacy, and which, therefore, can be considered public. The question is - to what this conclusion *entitles* or *obligates* me in relation to fulfilling my ethical responsibilities towards the participants? Does it mean that CM interaction that takes place within this space is “public broadcasts, which are designed to reach a wide audience” (Herring S. , 1996, p. 159), thereby *allowing* me to treat the participants nicknames, avatars and other iconic and linguistic features pointing out at their identity as public and, therefore, permitting me to disclose them in my study? Or more than that – does it *obligate* me to do that because all of the data that I have collected on the forum is “published works” (Herring S. , 1996, p. 154) protected by copyright and, hence, falling under the same citation requirements as any other published materials?

According to Susan Herring (1996, pp. 154,159) following the later logic would presume that (1) I quote participants’ messages for their content solely rather than with a purpose of examining and making sense of a broader social, discursive, cultural tendency, phenomenon etc. (which is, obviously, not the case), (2) the authors of the messages would want to be associated with it and have produced the messages with the intention of them becoming durable. While there are certainly

forums to which the aforementioned argument can be applied (for instance academically-oriented discussion places), there is no doubt that this is not the case in relation to Rusforum as the discussions that take place in this CM space contain no indication of that as well as the fact that they are much too immediate and everyday-life related to give reason to suspect that any of the people participating in these discussions perceive them as publications.

In accordance with the former logic, on the other hand, interaction taking place within such an open-access CM space as Rusforum represents a broadcast material. While in the line of this argument the researcher is not required to indicate the source of this material, he or she can decide to do that based on the argument that “when individuals choose to broadcast their messages to public forums, their name become public information” (Herring S. , 1996, p. 159). However, I believe that researchers should exercise the ethical freedom granted by the aforementioned argument with great caution. Once again, I argue that in the absence of the established ethical requirements in relation to CMC research – requirements that are verified by time, assessed in diverse empirical examinations, and scrutinized in profound theoretical debates – in making ethical decisions scholars can and should be guided by those fundamental ethical principles, which I have outlined earlier in this section and which instruct the researcher to follow the Hippocratic doctrine of doing good or not harming. I claim that the only way for the researcher to insure that this ethical principle is met in connection to doing CMC research is by stripping the data of all the indications of the participants' identity, which *are not relevant* to the analysis, regardless of the access criteria and privacy degree of the examined CM space. In this sense my understanding of researcher's responsibility echoes the one put forward by Susan Herring (1996, p. 159), who encourage the researchers to “avoid using real names in their actual research practice”. However, while Susan Herring advocates this practice as an act of “courtesy”, which is “neither legal nor an ethical requirement”, I believe that it should be considered as one of the central aspects of ethical decision making. Which features of participants' identity are relevant to the research and should be disclosed and which are not and, therefore, can be anonymized depends, just as the majority of ethical decisions made in various scholarly fields, on the type of the research conducted and should be determined and substantiated by the individual researcher.



Within the framework of my inquiry I have applied the guidelines proposed above

1. By removing, while representing data,
  - a. participants nicknames,
  - b. avatars,
  - c. registration information (such as registration date, user category, number of posted messages, nationality, place of living),
  - d. icons pointing at their nationality and other identity references even though the participants have revealed them in the space open for public access.
2. By making sure to store the generated data safely.

This largely coincides with the suggestions with regard to participants anonymity made by Storm King (1996, p. 127). However, as opposed to Storm King, I have chosen to disclose all the information about the CM space in focus as I believe that withholding it is unnecessary, based on the previously-discussed considerations with regard to the forum's accessibility and nature, as well as the fact that it would be pointless, since the forum's linguistic and thematic features and context are so unique that it could be identified easily even without an exact URL. Moreover, I agree with Susan Herring in her recommendation for to the researchers to identify CM social spaces, which they examine, in order to make their studies available for independent assessment, thereby making their research more transparent and increasing its validity.

I devoted this section of my thesis to an in-depth discussion of the way in which I conceive of and practice ethically mindful research in relation to the CM aspect of my ethnographic work. I believe that such a detailed account of ethical criteria of my research behavior was necessary as Cybermedia provides discursive, social and material spaces and interactional modes whose fluidity and complexity overpasses any conventional media, which makes it particularly "vulnerable to ethical breaches" (Thomas, 1996, p. 108) and which makes the task of defining ethical behaviour highly challenging. The relative novelty of CMC as a research field entails that just as many other scholars fascinated by the potential, which it opens up for examining and discussing some of the most relevant and complex issues of contemporary social life, and preoccupied with the "messy" and difficult task of exploiting this potential, I had to pave my own way in identifying what ethical research integrity is when research goes on-line. Ethical criteria, which I have formulated in this process, are harmonious with the principles of ethical mindfulness that I have established earlier in

this chapter as an overall strategy of exercising the researcher's responsibility that I apply throughout my examination. These criteria frame ethical aspect of my CM ethnography as a reflexive, contextual, nonreactive, act-following deontological and act-following teleological practice. This entails that my ethical decision making is rooted in the broad fundamental ethical doctrines that require from the researcher committed and extensive efforts directed at minimizing the risk of harming the participants and disrespecting their privacy. Taking up the aforementioned perspective, I have translated these general principles into guidelines for ethical behaviour, which are specific to the social, cultural and pragmatic context of my project and which consider its goals and its consequences. By examining the functional design of the CM site in focus, its size and thematic context as well as the behavior and interaction of people who are engaged in it I have evaluated and discussed such aspects of the site as its accessibility and degree of perceived privacy. On the basis of this discussion I have concluded that ethically responsible behaviour within the framework of my investigation involves nonintrusive research practice, which is not revealed to the participants, and anonymizing of participants' identity by removing from the generated data all the indicators of participants identity that are not relevant to the analysis or further discussion.

I believe that the difficulties associated with articulating principles of ethically mindful behaviour for CM research that I have addressed should neither scare researchers off active examining CMC nor be used as an excuse to avoid dealing with the ethical facets of this examining. In line with Jim Thomas (1996, p. 108), I in no way think that we as researchers "are solely and wholly responsible for the burden of protecting subjects from every conceivable harm". However, I am convinced that we have a responsibility to commit to persistent, systematic and reflexive work, which entails both defining what "fair" and "right" research practice is in the context of each project and doing our best to follow theses ethical criteria throughout our investigations. This section of my thesis represents an account of the way I understand and realize this commitment within the framework of my inquiry.

#### IV. CHAPTER SUMMARY: FROM ETHICAL CONCERNS TO ENGAGED AND ACTION-BASED SCHOLARSHIP

***“In conducting multi-sited research, one finds oneself with all sorts of cross-cutting and contradictory personal commitments. These conflicts are resolved, perhaps ambivalently, not by refuge in being a detached anthropological scholar, but in being a sort of ethnographer-activist” (Marcus, 1995, p. 113).***

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In this chapter, I have addressed the complexities and challenges of conducting ethically appropriate research, which involves doing participatory ethnography in general and multimodal nexus analysis in particular. Deep involvement of a researcher with the social and material sites of his/her exploration, which is necessary for gaining an access to and mapping out some of the most ambiguous and ‘messy’ aspects of social practices, also entails blurring between personal, social and research sites of the fieldwork. This makes recognising and addressing “ethically important moments” (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004) the task, which requires an on-going and consistent exercise of reflexivity, imaginativeness and contextuality that I define as the main principles of ethically mindful research.

I argue that such committed, explicit and dialogic practice of researcher's accountability is a way of beginning a long-needed reframing of the discussions of impact and value of our research activities and actions from the defensive rhetoric in response to the potential critique of our scientific subjectivity into the framework of discourse of the research activism. I see the latter as a powerful way of highlighting enormous potential for social change that research practices have or should have in the areas of our academic interest.

Such scholars as Broome, Carey, De La Carza, Martin, & Morris (2005), Marcus (1995), Ron and Suize Scollon (2004) explicitly recognize transformative power of research practice and actively advocate applying this power for positive social change. These scholars see the shift from “informative to performative ethnography” (Fabian, 1990, as cited in Broome, Carey, De La Carza, Martin, & Morris, 2005, p. 158), visible in a number of recent ethnographic investigations, to be indicative of a larger “activist turn” in both theoretical and empirical scholarship. The research projects that trigger and implement such a turn exploit their potential for changing the world by

committing either to specific social *outcomes* of research practice (the so called “activist research” (Broome, Carey, De La Carza, Martin, & Morris, 2005, p. 146) ) or to the specific *issue* or *issues at hand* (“engaged scholarship” (Broome, Carey, De La Carza, Martin, & Morris, 2005, p. 146).

The latter approach to the development of the engaged research, which I see myself contributing to by means of my project, does not imply or require starting out a scholarly investigation with a particular act of social change in mind as a necessary research outcome. However, it demands active personal involvement on the part of the researcher with the community in focus and applying his or her skills and abilities wherever and whenever it is possible in the course of the project to serve positively to this community.

The engaged, action-oriented nature of my investigation is based on the dialogic, reflexive, ethically-mindful, systematic and “symbiotic” (Broome, Carey, De La Carza, Martin, & Morris, 2005, p. 170) relationship with the actors involved. Throughout my project, I have been explicitly committed to establishing this relationship; and within the framework of this chapter I have accounted and critically discussed the ways in which it was shaped and re-shaped. The social impact and social engagement of my research practices lie in the high social and political relevance of the issues of transnational living and belongingness, which I examine in my investigation and in connection to which I voice the concerns of people engaged in this living. Furthermore, it consists in the work, which I do while carrying out this examination and which involves using my personal, academic and professional skills and abilities to participate in the hard and truly inspirational efforts of the members of the community in focus to build and improve their lives, the lives of their families, of their friends and of those who will become networked into the community in the future.

## CHAPTER 7: THE MAKING OF TRANSNATIONAL PRACTICES: MULTIMODAL, SOCIAL-SEMIOTIC ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL INTERACTION AND DISCURSIVE PRACTICES IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF TRANSNATIONAL NETWORKING

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Earlier in the thesis I have outlined and critically discussed multiple, diverse and often contradictory scholarly treatments of transnationality and theoretical debates around political, communicational, social and cultural issues that are connected to transnational living. In the course of this theoretical discussion (see Chapter 2), I have suggested an approach to thinking of and conceptualising transnational processes that acknowledges the complexity of human and material agencies engaged in their enabling and of technological, mediational and interactional mechanisms involved in their production and reproduction. One of the main theoretical premises that underpin the aforementioned approach is based on an argument that transnational practices are not constituted by agency-deprived flows divided between segregated and unidentified scales of micro and macro, below and above, here and there, home and host. Nor are they formed by a set of isolated activities in which people engage in order to cope with the predicaments of transnational existence, “estrangement from the ‘mother’ culture, distantiation from the place of origin, process of splitting”, etc., which “have all by now become familiar (if not over-familiar)” themes (Aksoy & Robins, 2003, p. 92) through some globalization, diaspora and transnational migration studies discussed in Chapter 2 of the thesis. The view on the concept of transnationality, which I put forward as one of the central theoretical pillars of my research, rests on the claim that transnational mobility is enabled by practices that are tightly networked into the web of actors’ mundane acts and actions, in which material, technological and discursive recourses and agencies become linked, re-contextualised and re-articulated to produce what I refer to as *transnational networking*.

Thus, the main imperative of the analytical work represented in this chapter consists in tracing and making visible the construction of transnational networking, i.e. the making of practices that mediate it. As described earlier in the thesis, I realize this analytical task by mapping out and unpacking the aforementioned complex, multi-modal, material, discursive and social connecting through which familiar points of reference (such as nationality, culture, religion, etc.) and established, routinized practices (such as prandial and child-rearing practices) become appropriated

and transformed by the actors to mediate and enable living *between, across* and *beyond* nation as a political, geographic, cultural and discursive concept. In doing so, I identify and examine the discursive categories and material, cultural and ideational recourses associated with them and which the actors invoke in this process, as well as the ways in which they construct these categories as relevant or irrelevant to the multitude of their memberships and belongings. I carry out this analytical work by mobilizing the multimodal, social-semiotic, discourse approach to analyzing meaning-making and social interaction, which I have developed in Chapter 3 of the thesis and which invokes the methodological strategies of such analytical and theoretical perspectives as conversational and membership categorization analysis (Sacks, 1992; Silverman, 1998), socio-semiotic analysis (Kress, 2010; Lemke, 2002; Iedema, 2001) and critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2003).

As I have outlined earlier in the thesis, by applying the aforementioned methods of discourse and socio-semiotic analysis to diverse multimodal segments of data registered in my data archive (generation of which is addressed in Chapter 4), I examine how the three meta-functions of discourse (Halliday, 2004; Iedema, 2003; Fairclough, 2003) become realised in the making and re-making of meaning as it takes place across multiple semiotic fields and multiple sites of actors' engagement. That is, I explore "the machinery" (Sacks, 1992) of the ways in which the actors "integrate language with non-language stuff" (Gee, 1999) to represent, orient towards and organize particular aspects of realities – such as transnational networking with which my project is concerned.

This approach to organizing and realizing the examination of social interaction captured in the course of my ethnographic work is reflected in the way the current chapter is structured. Namely, the analytical work in which I engage within this chapter is arranged around three aforementioned meta-functions of discourse and the ways the actors employ these functions to represent and enact categories and practices that mediate transnational networking and to represent and enact the attachments to these categories and associations between these practices.

Thus, I begin by examining the construction of categories, which the actors make relevant as they, in the course of their everyday lives, classify and represent meanings, knowledges, experiences and objects involved in the making of practices in focus. In doing so, I explore "how it is that something that's done is recognized for what it is" (Sacks, 1992, p. 236) as well as unpacking the categories and classes involved in making whatever is being done recognizable, repeatable and context-like. In

doing so I make visible and discuss the lists of items, of discursivities, materialities and actions of which these classes and categories are composed.

This exploration of the representational function of discourse in the making of realities is closely intertwined with and followed by the analytical examination of the ways in which in representing the realities and producing categorizations through which they become recognizable, the actors necessarily engage in organizing the knowledges, sites, practices and regimes located by the categories and accounts that they mobilize to accomplish these acts. That is, I attend analytically to the organizational meta-function of discursive practices. More precisely, I explore how discursive mechanisms such as interdiscursivity and transdiscursivity (formulated and discussed in Chapter 3) become employed by the actors in organizing and reorganizing the aspects of realities associated with transnational living.

As I uncover in the course of the analytical work outlined above the representing and organizing of the realities through making and making relevant of diverse categories I also map out how in enacting this categorical work the actors position themselves and the others in relation to the classes and meanings that they invoke and negotiate. This implies that I examine how the actors mobilize diverse discursive mechanisms to orient themselves and the others towards (or away from) represented accounts, experience, objects and symbols – i.e. I examine how identification, and the “action on the other” are organized and exercised to exercise the “control over things” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 28).

As it is emphasized above, I chose to structure the current chapter of my thesis in accordance with the aforementioned meta-functions of discourse to make transparent the analytical work represented in this chapter and to make as clear as possible how in doing this work I apply the methodological approach developed earlier in the thesis. However, as mentioned above and as highlighted in relation to the development of this approach, representing, relating to and organizing the realities are not isolated facets in the making of realities. Instead, these are closely intertwined mechanisms of constructing and governing out-there-ness that rely and feed upon each other. That is why, while for the methodological purposes described above, the structure of the chapter, seems to somewhat segregate these processes, the actual analytical work seeks to show the interconnectivity between them, which is reflected in the continuous movements between diverse analytical segments that I carry out across the structural units outlined above.



I begin the analysis described above from the position at which I arrived as a result of the ethnographic work strategized in accordance with the principles and methods of organizing ethnography put forward by Nexus Analysis (Scollon, 2001; Scollon & Scollon, 2004). That is, I examine the representational, orientational and organizational power of discourse in the making of transnational networking practices by focusing on the social and semiotic sites, categories, discourses and actions, which I have identified as significant to the actors through the ethnographic activities and preliminary analysis described and discussed in Chapter 4 of the thesis. The discourses, whose circulation I mapped out in the course of the aforementioned research work, include prandial discourses and discourses of child-care. The next section represents the analytical examination of the ways in which one of these identified discursive cycles - food-related discourses – as well as food-related practices mediated by these discourses participate in the categorization work in which the actors engage in the course of their daily interactions and which enables the construction of transnational networking and identity construction associated with transnational living.

## I. CATEGORIZING THE REALITIES: PRANDIAL DISCOURSE AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE FAMILIAR

***"In our family, the national border goes through the refrigerator. 😊"***

***(Posted on Rusforum, in discussion topic***

***"What are you having for dinner/supper?, Share an idea with the neighbour))" <sup>48</sup>***

As I have demonstrated in Chapter 4 of the thesis, prandial discourses circulate across all the three sites of actors' engagement involved in the nexus of practice within which my ethnographic work took place: Rusforum, Rusmam/the Russian school and the "Russian" shop in Aalborg. Continuously re-emerging in computer-mediated discussions on Rusforum, in co-present conversations between parents during Rusmam, Aalborg Russian school meetings, in the selection of food products in the "Russian" shop in Aalborg, in the display of dishes prepared by members of

<sup>48</sup> "Что у вас на обед\ужин?, Поделись идеей с ближним))"

<<http://rusforum.dk/index.php?showtopic=4795&st=3280&p=293686&#entry293686>>, Appendix III.4

Rusmam for the “without-children get-togethers” and in collective road-trips to the “Russian supermarket” in Germany, etc. prandial practices become associated within various aspects of actors’ everyday lives – child upbringing, health care, religious practices, etc. As identified earlier in the thesis, making sense of unfamiliar cultural, economic, social and political relations with which the actors become confronted as a result of their mobility, often takes place through the exploration of prandial practices connected to these relations (e.g. discussions of childcare institutions in Denmark invoke the prandial aspects of daily routines and normative regimes through which the functioning of these institutions is organized, see Chapter 4).

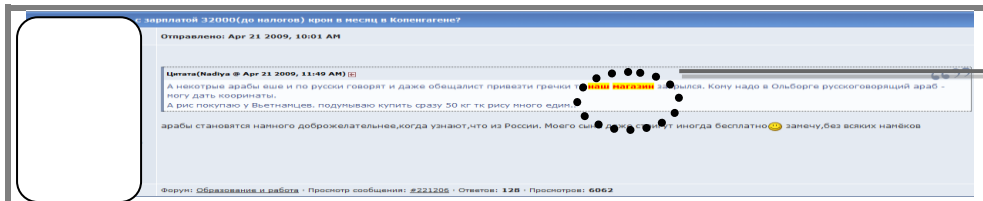
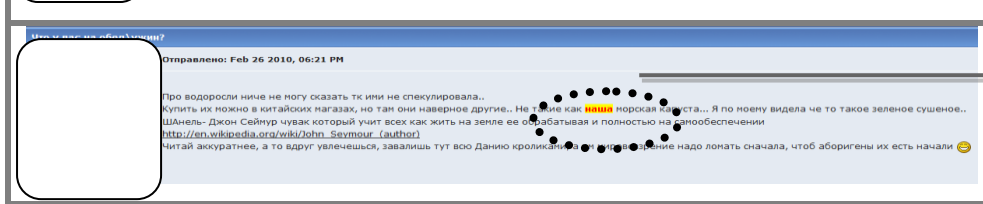
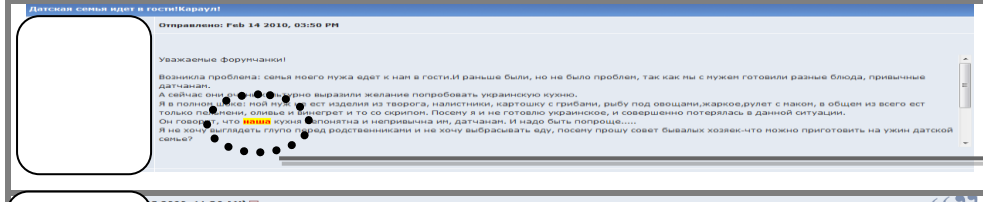
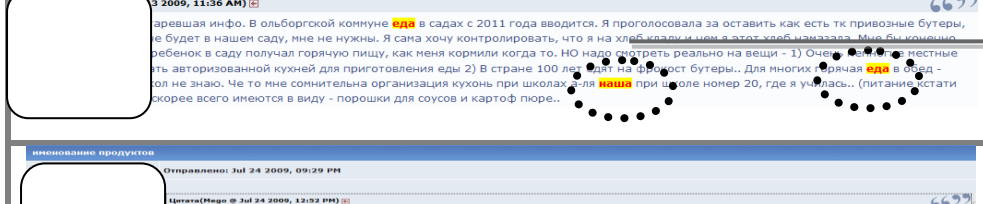
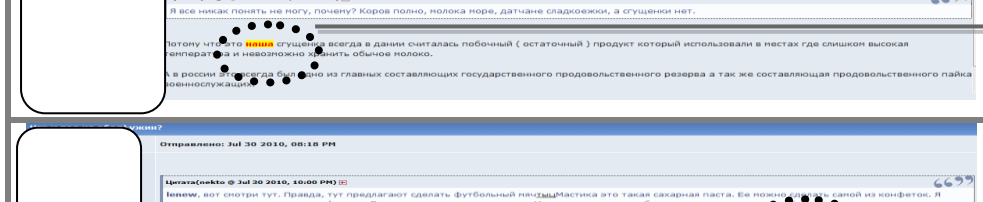
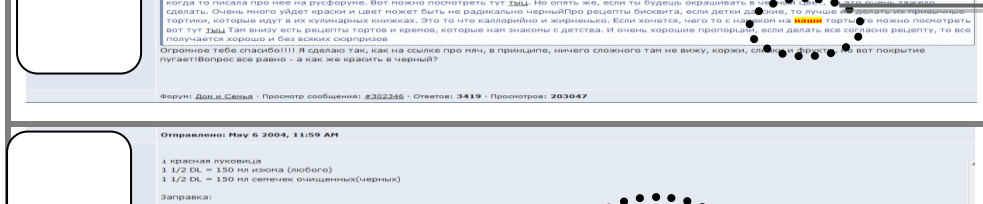
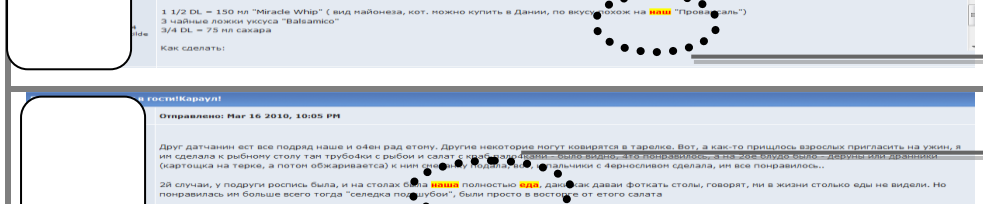
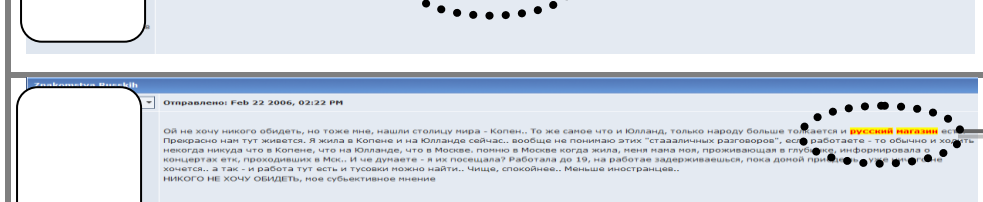

At the same, as emphasized in Chapter 4, the familiar understandings and meanings associated with prandial practices are also continuously made relevant in the actors’ interactions. Religious and cultural practices, raw ingredients, food products and dishes which the participants label as “Russian” or just “our” in the food-related descriptions become constructed as “real”, “authentic”, “healthy”, “wholesome” in the idealising nostalgic, often highly emotional, discursive trips to the “neverland” of childhood, past, “home”. Repeated referencing to the concept of “Russian food” and “our food” presupposes the presence of shared ground, of common understanding of these concepts and of seemingly uncontested totality of these experiences. In the following, I examine the supposedly shared categories, discursively marked as “our” or “Russian”, in order to unpack the lists of items – meanings, symbols, material objects, discursive references, social and physical places, experiences, historical moments, etc. – through which these categories become composed. In doing so, I uncover and make available for further discussion discursive and social mechanisms through which these lists are being formulated, negotiated, invoked in relation to and intertwined with the other new and/or unfamiliar sets of connections relevant to the actors.

As illustrated by a few examples in Figure 12<sup>49</sup>, the actors’ interaction captured in the course of my ethnographic work is pervaded with consistent, routinized and truly numerous referencing to *our* or *Russian* food products and food-related practices.

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<sup>49</sup> <[>](http://rusforum.dk/index.php?act=Search&CODE=simpleresults&sid=e95801ab52f4f263483721f0e90ccdb8&highlight=%ED%E0%F8%<br><a href=)

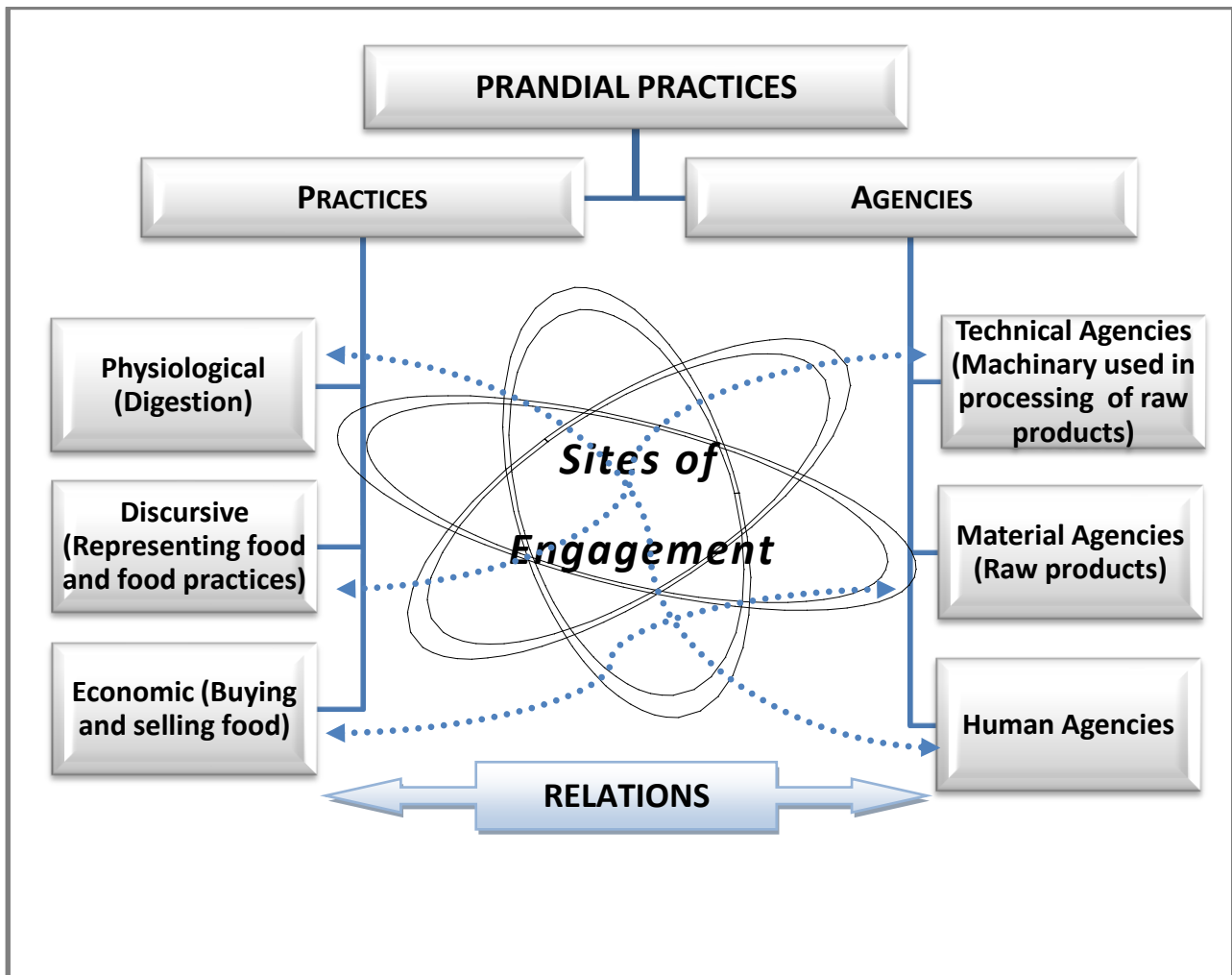
Figure 12: Examples of Uses of Discursive inscriptions “Our” and “Russian” in Relation to Prandial Practices:

	<p>“Наш магазин” – Our shop</p>
	<p>“Наша морская капуста” – Our seaweed</p>
	<p>“Наша кухня” – Our cuisine</p>
	<p>“А ля наша горячая еда” – A la our warm food</p>
	<p>“Наша сгущенка” – Our condensed milk</p>
	<p>“Наши торты” – Our cakes</p>
	<p>“Наш ‘Провансаль’” – Our “Provansal”</p>
	<p>“Наша полностью еда” – Our food completely</p>
	<p>“Русский магазин” – Russian shop</p>

The aforementioned discursive references represent the way of invoking a specific identity category through its “legitimate plural replacements” (Sacks, 1992, p. 335). Even if the actors have no ability or intention whatsoever to actually name the category (for instance, when they use the so-called pro-form word (Sacks, 1992, p. 342) ‘our’) and to “replace it with a list of those persons about whom it is true” (Sacks, 1992, p. 335), when the category is made relevant across so many interactional contexts and on so many occasions, it becomes a reliable, disseminated into daily routines, point of reference to which the actors orient in constructing their identities. Therefore, examining those knowledges, attributes and activities, which are associated with the categories marked discursively as “our” and “Russian”, as well as discursive and social work, which the actors accomplish to articulate or re-articulate their belonging to this category, is crucial for understanding the mechanisms of identity construction that the actors invoke in the course of their everyday practices.

In “network” terms, prandial practices represent a complex mobile assemblage of physiological, discursive, economic, etc. relations that mediate on-going connecting between material human and technical agencies across numerous sites of engagement (see Figure 13).

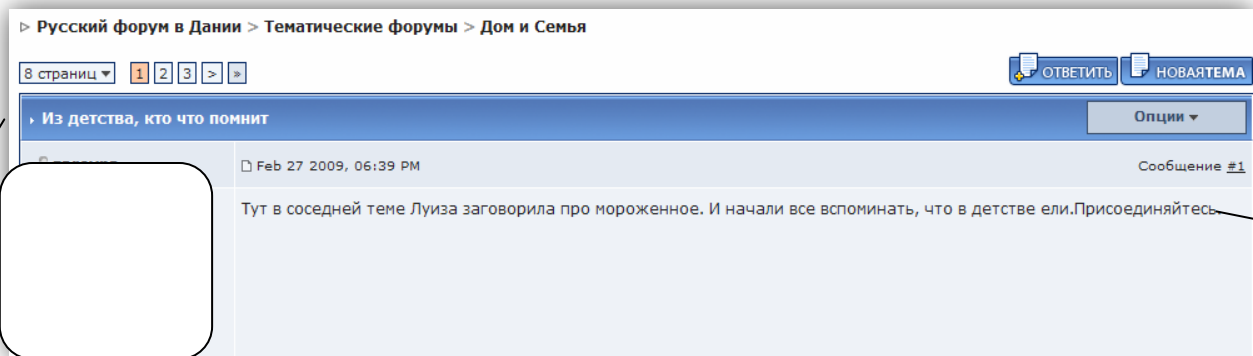
Figure 13: Prandial Practices



“Russian” food or “our” food represents discursive inscriptions, labels that denote a specific prandial practice. Therefore, sharing of the understanding of this concept would presume sharing of the whole complex set of relations, having in common all of the numerous sites of engagement and, being familiar with and able to recognise material and human agencies that participate in the making of these relations. To examine how much of this commonality and sharing is actually present in the actors’ experiences, I shall now look at one of the many discussions devoted to food-related practices on Rusforum<sup>50</sup>.

<sup>50</sup> <<http://rusforum.dk/index.php?showtopic=14855>>, Appendix III.14

*Excerpt 14*



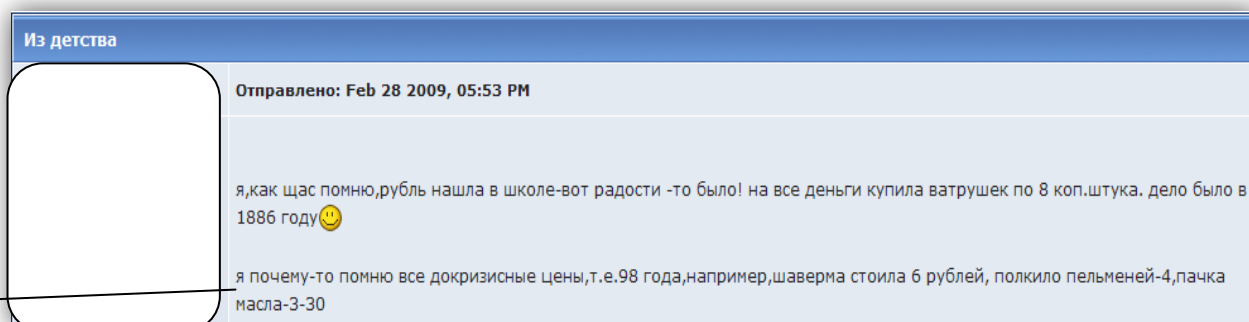
From childhood, who remembers what

Here in the neighbouring topic [NAME OF THE PARTICIPANT] started talking about ice-cream. And everybody started recollecting what they ate when they were children. Join us

While the title of the discussion topic intends to become a discursive trip into a broad spectrum of childhood memories, the thematic description of the topic formulated by the Rusforum participant who starts the discussion firmly positions the concept of childhood within the framework of prandial practices in continuity with the conversation thread that emerged earlier (“the neighbouring topic”).

The discursive inscriptions of these supposedly shared food-related practices, which the actors produced in the course of the discussion and which wrap up cultural and social experiences, relations and traversals that make up narratives of their identities, their historical bodies, are far from being identical. Sometimes these inscriptions remain completely unrecognized. In this case, the comment posted by one of the participants might be left without a reply or any reaction from the others, as illustrated by the Excerpt 15:

Excerpt 15<sup>51</sup>



I remember, just like right now, have found a rouble at school – such luck! bought for all of the money vatrushki , 8 kopeks per piece, it was in 1886 😊

I remember all the before-crisis prices for some reason, that is of year 98, for instance, shaverma cost 6 roubles, half-a-kilo of pelmeni – 4, packet of butter - 3.30

The post above consists of two lines, both of which encourage commenting. Both utterances are marked by the absence of closing punctuation, which indicates their openness for the subsequent discussion. In addition, the first line containing a short humorous narration of a childhood experience ends with a “smiley” inviting the other participants to laugh along with the author of the comment. However, all of the aforementioned syntactically and iconically realised invitations for the discussion of the experience described in the post remain unanswered. My long-term observation and examination of interaction within the social space of Rusforum show that such a complete ignoring of the comment is highly uncommon to the interactional practice at this site of the actors’ engagement. As any *talk-in-interaction* (Schegloff, 2007) computer-mediated interaction is characterized by thick and “tremendously powerful structural regularities” (Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998, p. 5) that are normative to the actors behaviour within a specific social space. The missing response to the comment, which is as explicitly open to the interactional turn that would make it relevant as the example above, is not a random departure from the sequential

<sup>51</sup> “Vatrushki” (from Russian “Ватрушки”) – Russian pastry with cottage cheese

“Shaverma” (from Russian “Шаверма”) – Shawarma

“Pelmeni” (from Russian “Пельмени”) – dumplings made of various types of meat filling wrapped in dough then frozen, boiled or fried



organization. Instead, it is a meaningful to the interactional occasion failure to the expectations of the speaker, which Gunter Kress describes as “refusal to engage” (2010, p. 36) and which can only be indicative of the fact that the context of the experience, which the author chose to invoke as, a “knowable” (Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998, p. 3) to the other interactants, feature of their supposedly unarguably shared past, is in fact not familiar to them.

Alternatively, when only one aspect of the described practice does not become immediately recognised by the actors (for example a particular discursive inscription, such as the name of the specific food product), it initiates a conversational exchange that aims at clarifying, explaining or introducing the broken or missing element of the description. Such an action (illustrated by the excerpts below) is accomplished through a sequence of turns-at-talk that repair troublesome aspect of the actors’ experience.

#### Excerpt 16

Цитата “”

для меня самой доступной была икра минтая 😬


а енто хто? чито за зверь такой? 😬

[Citation]: Personally, what I could afford the most was Alaska Pollock caviar 😬

And whu is zat? What kind of animal is it? 😬


Ну, минтай мороженный обычно котам брали. Вот он на картинке, а вот его икра.

Уменьшено до 26%




135 x 101 (3.37 килобайт)

Уменьшено до 85%



650 x 241 (18.2 килобайт)

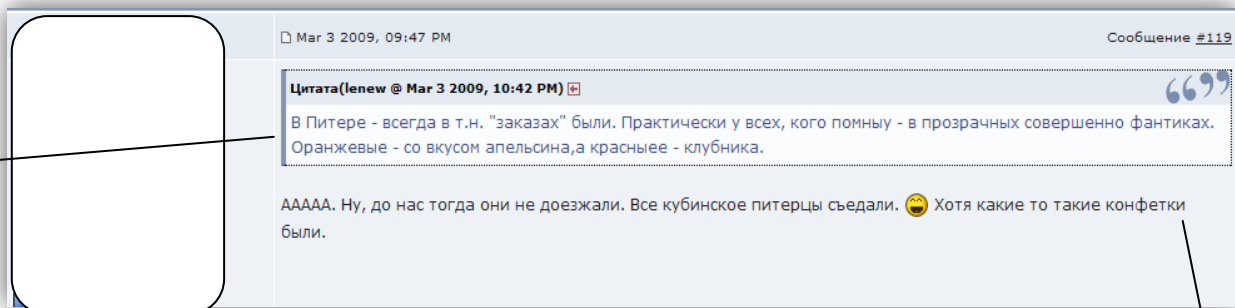
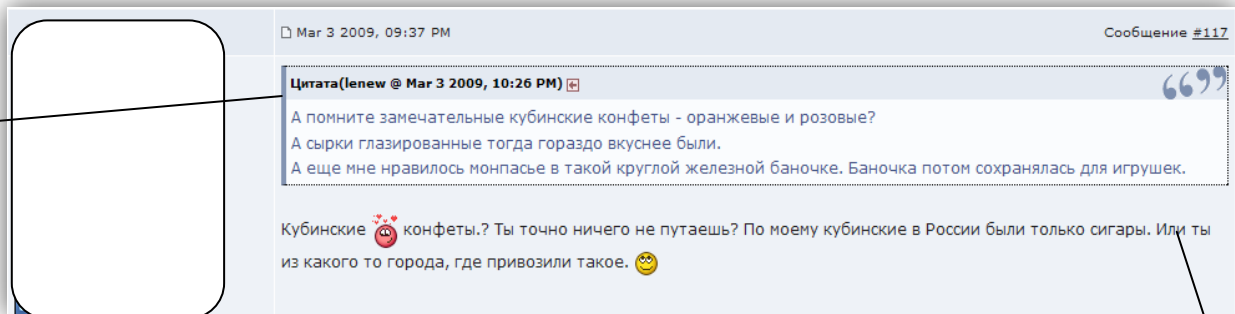
[Citation: NAME OF THE PARTICIPANT]: Well, frozen Alaska Pollock was usually bought for cats. Here it is itself on the picture and here is its caviar.

In the Excerpt16, a repair was initiated in relation to the material agency made relevant by one of the participants (“Alaska Pollock caviar”). The repair was initiated in a form of question with humorous undertones realized by transforming orthography of some of the words, so that if these words were pronounced in accordance with this orthography, it would produced a comic effect (“whu is zat”). The humorous effect is amplified by the second part of the utterance within which a food product becomes addressed as an “animal”. In addition the line ends with the insertion of the same emoticon  that was used by the previous author, which conveys playful, teasing mimicking.

The next comment accomplishes the initiated repair and clarifies the troublesome element through verbal and visual resources: “Well, frozen Alaska Pollack was usually bought for cats. Here it is itself on the picture and here is its caviar.” The second part of the line serves as a caption to the images displayed below “Here it is itself on the picture and here is its caviar”.

In the next excerpt, the repair of the initially unrecognised material attribute associated with the supposedly shared past is carried out along two conversational pairs.

Excerpt 17<sup>52</sup>





[Citation: NAME OF THE PARTICIPANT]: And do you remember wonderful Cuban 🍬 candies – orange and pink? [...]

Cuban candies.? Are you sure you are not confusing something? As far as I know the only Cuban things in Russia were cigars. Or are you from the kind of city where there were things like that. 😊

[Citation: NAME OF THE PARTICIPANT]: In Peter – they were always “on order”.  
Almost everybody whom I remember had them – in completely transparent wrapping [...]

AAAAA. Well, they never got to us then. Everything from Cuba was eaten by those from Peter. [...] 😊

<sup>52</sup> “Peter” (from Russian “Питер”) – a colloquial (slang) reference to St Petersburg

In the first pair, one of the participants makes a reference to “wonderful Cuban candies – orange and pink? [...]” emphasising his or her infatuation for them through using the attribute “wonderful” as well as by adding the following emoticon “”, which iconically signals passionate fondness, love. The comment following the aforementioned post shows that this emotional and prandial experience is not recognised by its author, who initiates a repair of the feature in focus. Firstly, by signalling his or her confusion with the previous statement and questioning its correctness: “Are you sure you are not confusing something?”; then – by suggesting his own interpretation of the invoked experience: “As far as I know the only Cuban things in Russia were cigars”; and finally, by suggesting the possible reason for the confusion: “Or are you from the kind of city where there were things like that?”. The last element of the repair initiation is concluded with a smiley “”, which functions in the current conversational context as an interactional disclaimer signalling that the authors realises that he or she is asking another interactant to reveal on-line the details of his or her identity, which is a sensitive and private matter. In doing so the speaker attempts to downplay this invasion of the other participant’s privacy. This use of the static emoticon illustrates what Susan Herring (Dresner & Herring, 2010) refers to as “illocutionary force” of this visual semiotic resource in computer-mediated communication. The realization of this particular discursive function of emoticons is an ever-conscious and intentional act of conveying “on a par with other aspects of written language” (Dresner & Herring, 2010, p. 14) the meaning of an utterance and is an equivalent of what in face-to-face interactional setting is “given off” (Goffman, 1959, as cited in Dresner & Herring, 2010, p. 14) through often non-intentional elements of non-verbal language such as e.g. facial expressions.

The next pair in the conversational exchange in focus starts with the repair of description of the food product in question. The repair starts by elaboration on the context of the invoked experience: “In Peter – they were always ‘on order’”. The elaborative line consists of two parts. The first part states the place in which the experience took place – “Peter” – a colloquial reference to St Petersburg. This informal, warm, homey way of referring to this city on the one hand stresses the author’s belonging to this geographical, social and cultural place. On the other hand it subtly tests the other participant’s *knowing* of the invoked membership. The second part of the line “they were always ‘on order’” exhibits another detail, another tiny segment of the experience, which the author has chosen to make relevant in formulating his or her belonging to the shared past, to “our” food and food-related practices. This segment refers to the practice common in Soviet times of

distributing delicacies, products in short supply and/or foreign food products not through the public trading system but directly to the privileged organisations and institutions (party elite, administrative units, classified research institutions, etc.). The last line of the post: “Almost everybody whom I remember had them – in completely transparent wrapping [...]” reaffirms and validates previously accounted experiences as well as it hints at another aspect of the author’s belonging (to the aforementioned privileged groups).

The second conversational pair, which concludes the repair event, accomplishes three actions. Firstly, it decodes a covert inquiry about belonging to Peter’s elite produced within the previous line and disavows this membership by invoking binary categories US vs. THEM (see Figure 14).

**Figure 14: ‘Us’ Vs. “Them” Categorization, Excerpt 17**

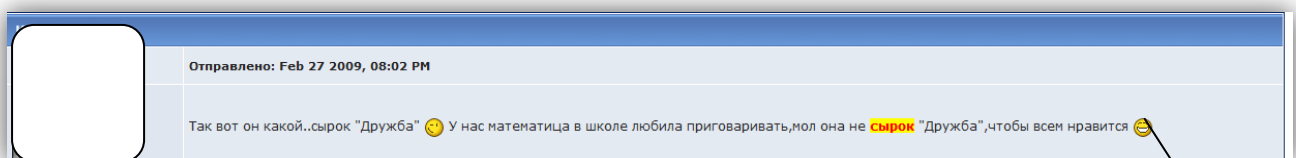
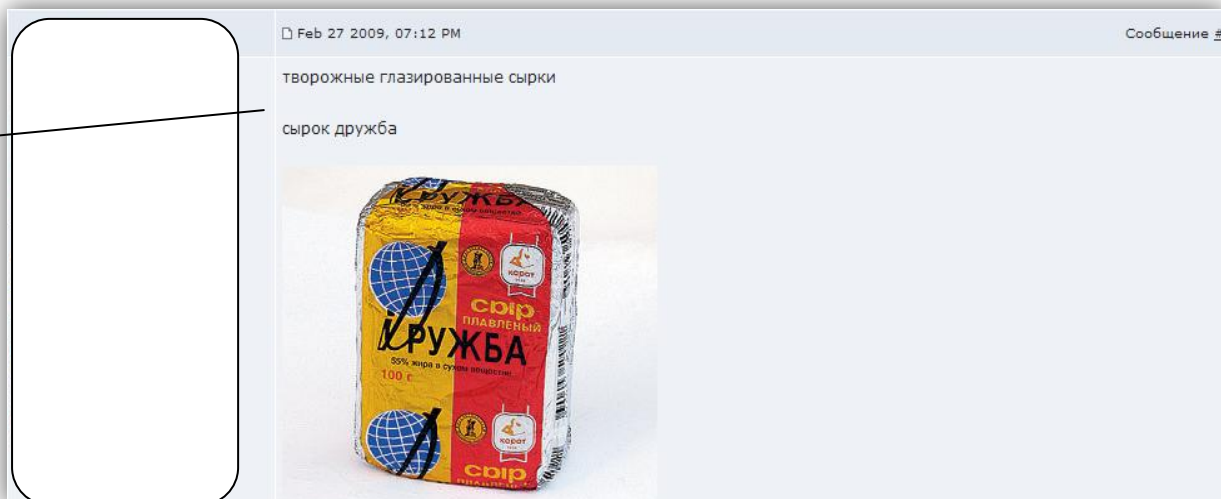


Secondly, it uses a colloquial “Peter” to confirm it as a known feature, thereby indicating a possibility of shared belonging. Thirdly, by adding a ‘laughing-out-loud’ “😂” smiley it produces a reaction on his own joke (“Everything from Cuba was eaten by those from Peter”), thereby completing all of the aspects of the conversational round. In addition, the aforementioned emoticon mitigates somewhat unfavourable reference to “those from Peter”.

The analysis of conversational organization made above unpacks the ways in which in course of categorical work (Sacks, 1992), i.e. in collecting features, attributes, activities and formulations of

knowledge into recognisable and knowable categories, the actors inevitably position themselves and each other in relation to these categories, thereby, formulating and negotiating the complex and dynamic memberships, which are involved in the construction of their identities and which I shall continue to explore further in this chapter. The data excerpts examined above also illustrate those interactional occasions in which the discursive form of a specific aspect of “our” prandial practice figures as a troublesome feature in membership construction that requires repair, clarification and that is being confirmed or rejected. In contrast, the next analytical segments focus on those interactional events within which a discursive inscription of a food product is what is familiar to most of the participants, while its material modality is unknown or in question:


### Excerpt 18



Glazed cottage-cheese bar

Cottage-cheese bar “Friendship”

So this is what cottage-cheese bar “Friendship” 🍪 looks like. Our math teacher at school used to say, like she is not a cottage-cheese bar “Friendship” to be liked by everybody 😊

Excerpt 18 represents a conversational pair composed by two posts. In the first post the participant makes relevant a particular material agency - a food product, glazed cottage-cheese bar – by mobilizing two semiotic resources: written (“cottage-cheese bar “Friendship””) and visual (photographic image of the product invoked). By introducing this product into the conversation in focus, the author of the post lists the particular intersection of material agency and discursive description (see Figure 13) under the category of familiar, shared prandial experiences negotiated within this conversation. However, the next conversational line demonstrates that only the discursive aspect of the invoked item is familiar to the other participant while the material aspect is not recognized: “So this is what cottage-cheese bar “Friendship”  looks like”. This is conveyed through the use of written language on a pair with a sceptical expression *given* (as opposed to *given off* (Dresner & Herring, 2010, p. 14)) by an emoticon. This is followed by an account of the experience in relation to which the author of the post became aware of discursive description, which he/she did recognize – an anecdotic story about “math teacher”.

Similarly, Excerpt 19 represents another conversational pair<sup>53</sup> (that continues conversational exchange captured in Excerpt 16) within which the discursive description of the product invoked in formulating the category of shared and familiar is affirmed, while the material and visual aspects of the product remain unrecognized.

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<sup>53</sup> Here and in the other analytical segments that focus on computer-mediated interaction, I use the term ‘conversational pair’ to address a short exchange between interlocutors. In the context of multi-part, non-linear, multi-semiotic interaction format of CMC, such conversational pairs might be adjacent or separated by several turns-at-talk or distributed across different discussion topics. The pairing might take place through and be indicated by the use of citation function, a direct address or a reference to the author of the message (or to its content and theme) in response to which the comment is made.



*Excerpt 19*

Ну, минтай мороженный обычно котам брали. Вот он на картинке, а вот его икра.

Эскизы прикрепленных изображений

Уменьшено до 26%  
135 x 101 (3.37 килобайт)

Уменьшено до 85%  
650 x 241 (18.2 килобайт)

Feb 28 2009, 11:01 PM

Ну, минтай мороженный обычно котам брали. Вот он на картинке, а вот его икра.

а ща наверно другие баночки стали делать, т.к. что-то не узнаю ничего на Вашей картинке.

[Citation: NAME OF THE PARTICIPANT]: Well, frozen Alaska Pollack was usually bought for cats. Here it is itself on the picture and here is its caviar.

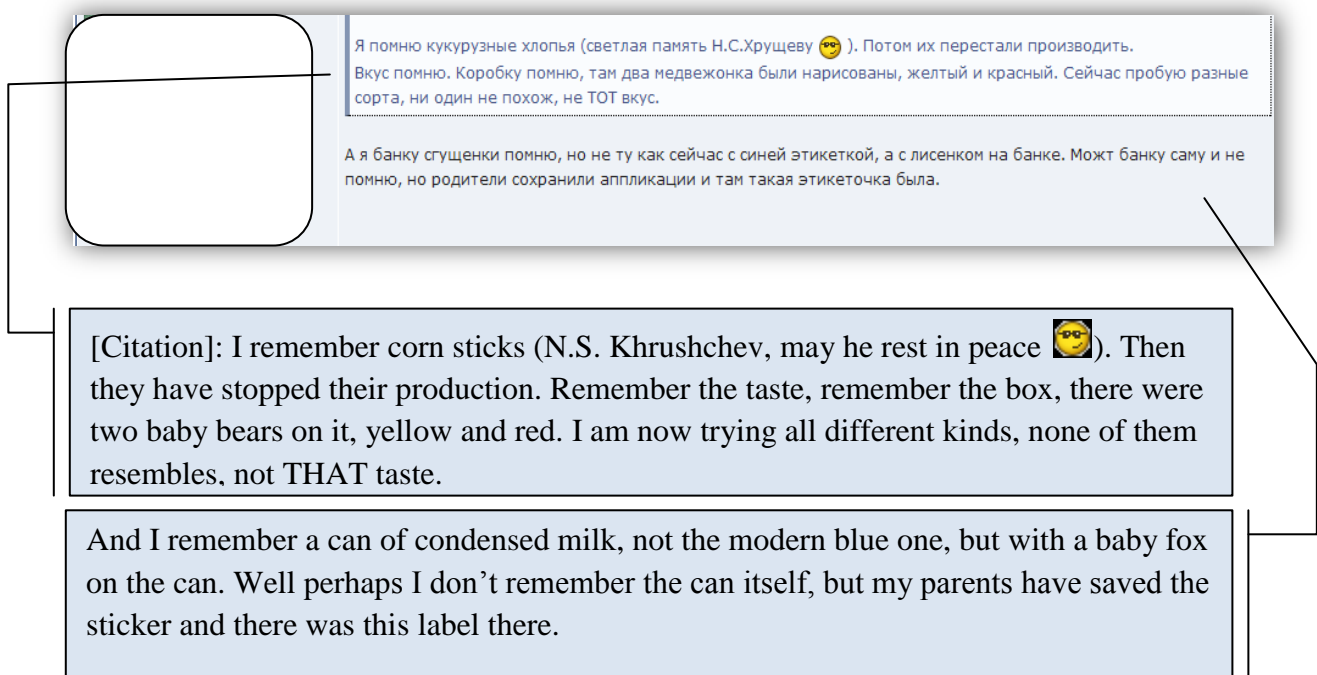
ah, nau they must have started making some other cans, because I don't seem to recognize your can.

As illustrated in the excerpt above, in the first post of the conversational pair in focus, one of the Rusforum's participants makes relevant product such as "frozen Alaska Pollack" in relation to the negotiation of the list of experiences, materialities and discursive constructs associated with "our", "Russian", shared and familiar prandial practices. The author of the post engages attention of the other participants in relation to this particular item verbally (through written language) and visually (by inserting the images of frozen Alaska Pollack itself and "its caviar") thereby making relevant both discursive and visual format of the product in focus. In the next post produced in response to

this act of conversational engaging the other participant in the conversation in focus addresses only the visual aspect of the item introduced in the previous line by emphasising his/her lack of familiarity with it (“ah, nau they must have started making some other cans, because I don’t seem to recognize your can.”). The discursive description, on the other hand, becomes acknowledged by absence from this utterance.

Excerpt 20 represents another example of actors’ descriptions that foregrounds material form and visual modality of food-product as central to the recollected experiences in a way that confirms the complexity of relational nexus of which prandial practices are composed and which is illustrated in Figure 13 presented earlier in this chapter:

#### Excerpt 20



Я помню кукурузные хлопья (светлая память Н.С.Хрущеву 😊). Потом их перестали производить. Вкус помню. Коробку помню, там два медвежонка были нарисованы, желтый и красный. Сейчас пробую разные сорта, ни один не похож, не ТОТ вкус.

А я банку сгущенки помню, но не ту как сейчас с синей этикеткой, а с лисенком на банке. Можт банку саму и не помню, но родители сохранили аппликации и там такая этикеточка была.

[Citation]: I remember corn sticks (N.S. Khrushchev, may he rest in peace 😊). Then they have stopped their production. Remember the taste, remember the box, there were two baby bears on it, yellow and red. I am now trying all different kinds, none of them resembles, not THAT taste.

And I remember a can of condensed milk, not the modern blue one, but with a baby fox on the can. Well perhaps I don’t remember the can itself, but my parents have saved the sticker and there was this label there.

In the first post of the conversational pair captured in the excerpt above, one of the interlocutors invokes yet another product into the recollection and reconstruction of the shared, “our” past (“I remember corn sticks”). The discursive account that follows this introduction spells out the nexus of relations that form the particular moment of the historical body of the author for which the introduced food product stands. This nexus is composed by:

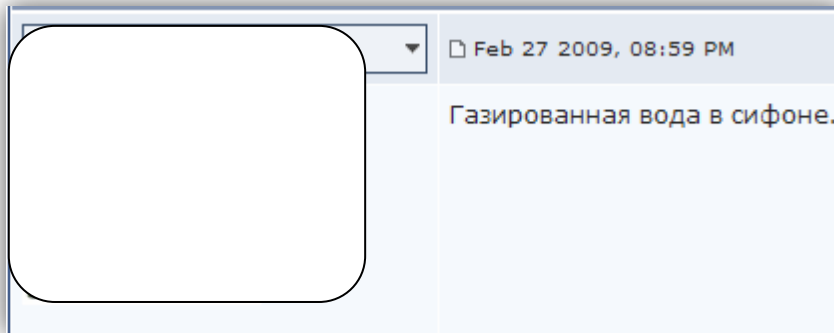
- a particular historical and political context: Khrushchev's period in the Soviet regime marked among other things by the attention of the government to the development of an agricultural sphere with a particular and unjustified focus on the growth of corn, the irrationality of which is highlighted sarcastically in the message through the use of an emoticon giving the sceptical expression ("N.S. Khrushchev, may he rest in peace 🙄");
- a physiological aspect of the accounted experience "THAT taste", where the emphasis on "that" realized through irregular capitalization highlights the specificity of the sense with which the experience is associated;
- material and visual aspects of the experience: "the box, there were two baby bears on it, yellow and red"

The significance of the latter element is what becomes asserted in the comment made in response to the previous post whose author stresses the role of visual and material form in relation to another product - "a can of condensed milk not the modern blue one, but with a baby fox on the can". The conversational exchange in focus demonstrates that the aspects of prandial practices that become invoked by the participants to construct and negotiate familiar and recognizable points of reference are anchored in the unique and complex experiences which make the historical bodies of the actors and which involve a complex set of relations between material and discursive resources, political and personal contexts, etc.

The next collection of conversational segments demonstrate this diversity of relations between geographical places, social arrangements, technologies and actions associated with a particular aspect of prandial practices made relevant by the participants in the discussion of the supposedly shared categories of "our" or/and "Russian". The extracts below illustrate the multitude of category-bound activities (Sacks, 1992) accounted by the actors in relation to two types of products (mineral/sparkling water and sausage/sausages) both of which, based on the numerous comments made in relation to them, appeared to be significant to the discussion in focus.

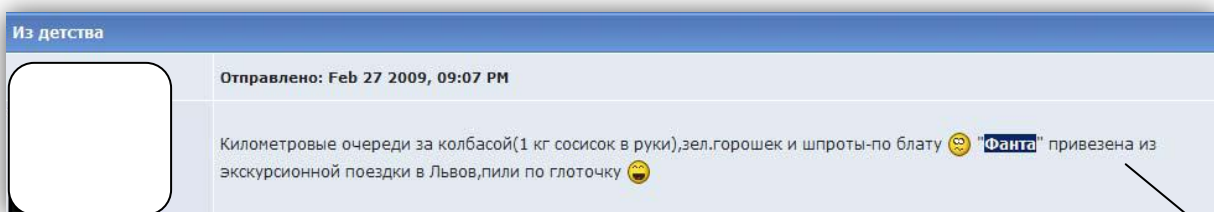
**Mineral water/sparkling water:**

*Excerpt 21*



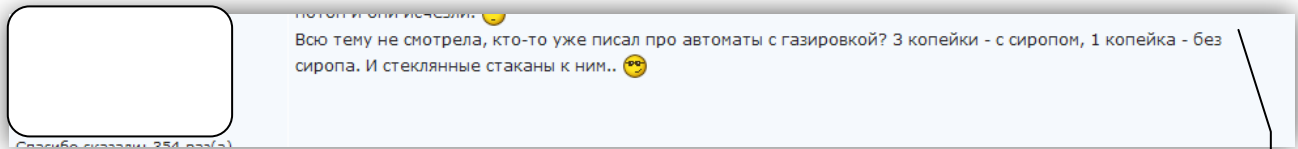
Water in the siphon

*Excerpt 22*



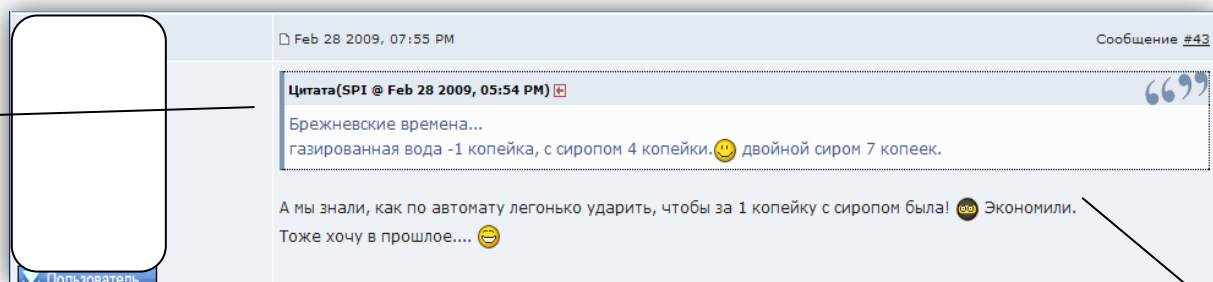
[...] Fanta brought from the excursion to Lvov, drank it one sip at a time 🍷

Excerpt 23



I haven't looked through the whole topic, has anybody written already about the mineral water machines? 3 kopecks – with the syrup, 1 kopeck – without syrup. And there were glasses there.... 😊

Excerpt 24

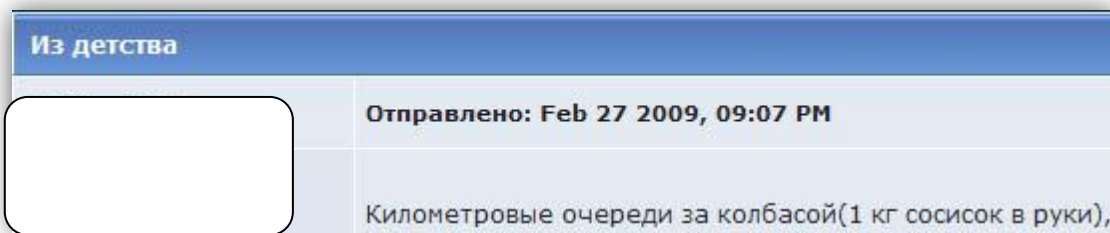


[Citation: NAME OF THE PARTICIPANT]: Brezhnev times... mineral water – 1 kopecks, with syrup 4 kopecks... 😊 double syrup 7 kopecks.

And we knew how to hit the machine slightly, so that to get for 1 kopeck with the syrup! 🤖 Saving the money. Also want to go back... 😊

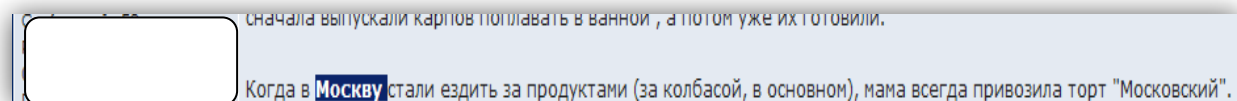
**Sausage/Sausages:**

**Excerpt 25**



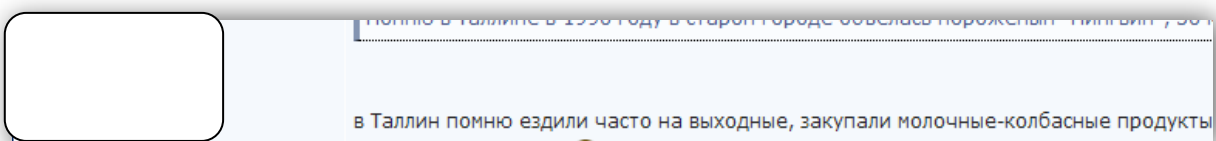
Kilometre-long queues to get sausage (1kg sausage in one pair of hands) [...]

**Excerpt 26**



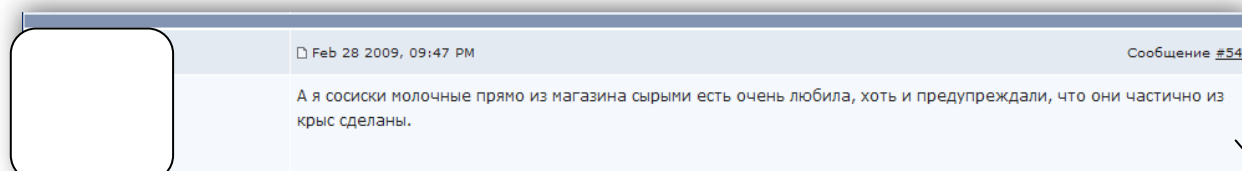
When we started going to Moscow to get some food (sausage mostly). Mother always brought us a cake "Moskovskij"

**Excerpt 27**



I remember we went to Tallinn often on weekends – buying milk-sausage products

*Excerpt 28*



And I loved eating “milk sausages” raw, just on the way from the shop, although they warned me that they were partially made of rats.

Excerpts 21-28 demonstrate how in negotiating the “lists of items that persons know in common” (Sacks, 1992, p. 26) and that becomes invoked in classing and naming the realities (into such categories as “our” and “Russian”) the participants move discursively back and forth in time (e.g. “Brezhnev times”, Excerpt 24 and post-Soviet times, Excerpt 22<sup>54</sup>), between geographical and political places (e.g. references to Lvov, Excerpt 22; Moscow, Excerpt 26; Talinn, Excerpt 27), as well as between diverse practices and aspects of the societal organization (economic, e.g. buying mineral water, Excerpt 23, 24; familial rituals, “Mother always brought us a cake “Moskovskij””, Excerpt 26; political, e.g. alluding to Brezhnev<sup>55</sup>, Excerpt 24).

These excerpts, as well as all the analysis carried out so far, vividly illustrate that despite multiple references to the supposedly shared concept of “Russian” or “our” food and assumed commonality of the experiences and meanings assigned to this concept, there is no one single culture-specific nexus of connections that would assemble this practice and which would be fully shared by all of the actors. In fact, each of them has in the course of his or her life accumulated a unique set of *recollectable* and *narratable* experiences and has assembled a unique network of relations that form his/her understanding of this notion. What the actors share then is not these relational networks as a

<sup>54</sup> “Fanta” in relation to which the account in Excerpt 22 was made was not available in the regular stores until after the 1980s.

<sup>55</sup> Leonid Brezhnev – General Secretary, presiding over USSR from 1964-1982 often referred to as the most regressive period in Soviet history.



whole but the nodes at which they come in touch with each other. It is these intersections of actors' individual unique experiences – visual modalities (such as the colour of a condensed milk can) or routines and activities associated with a specific food-product (like going to Moscow to buy sausages), or discursive descriptions (the name of the cottage-cheese bar, which the actors have never seen or tasted but of which they heard from their schoolteacher) – that make “Russian” food a familiar and recognisable point of reference.

What the analytical inferences made so far mean in relation to the examination of transnational networking is that they demonstrate that the categories of shared and familiar, which in the bulk of conventional studies on transnationality is regularly conceptualized as ‘home’, ‘national’, ‘original’ - as a fixed set of experiences and meanings that serve as the outset from which the migrants enact their eternal ‘shuttling’ or, as ultimate and endless, ‘disentanglement’, are neither given nor homogenous, nor accomplished prior to the interactional act in which they are made relevant. Instead, these categories (and therefore the realities, which are classed through these categories) are complex and dynamic constructions, which the actors produce by formulating, moving along and across compound lists of experiences, accounts, meanings and symbols that they make relevant or refuse to become engaged with, recognize or disavow, challenge or affirm in the course of their everyday interaction examined in the analysis above. In the course of this analysis, I mapped out the aforementioned conversational actions by examining multi-semiotic resources through which they become accomplished and, in doing so, made visible the complexity and dynamics of the categories, which, both in the actors' interaction and in much of the conventional scholarly discourse, are commonly construed as solid and given.

Thus, the acts of remembering, which mediate the categorical work explored in the analytical segments above, are undoubtedly more than the mere extraction and preservation of a “series of fragments” (Middleton & Brown, 2005, p. 2) from the passed and passing time. As it is demonstrated in relation to Excerpt 17, memory work (Middleton & Brown, 2005) in which the actors engage as they negotiate the familiar and shared points of references (such as “our” prandial practices) participates in the construction and ascription of memberships to the categories invoked through these references (such as “US” vs. “THEM”). In addition, this active, dynamic and prolific remembering taking place “between the individual and the collective, between what is held in common and what is most intensely personal” (Middleton & Brown, 2005, p. 3) is involved in rediscovering “both familiar and novel currents” (Middleton & Brown, 2005, p. 44), i.e. in on-going

organizing of the concerns, social arrangements, actions and practices which are both temporally and geographically distant from the experiences brought back through the aforementioned memory work. Further on in this chapter, I examine the discursive and social mechanisms through which this organizing becomes enacted.

## II. INTER- AND TRANSDISCURSIVITY IN ORGANIZING THE REALITIES

What I seek to learn through the examination outlined above and represented in this chapter is whether the familiar categories, meanings, established practices and social arrangements (made relevant and re-constructed in the discursive acts addressed in the previous analytical section) become incorporated into the current living contexts of the actors as fixed and static frames of reference splitting their lives into ‘past’ and ‘present’, ‘home’ and ‘host’ and thereby triggering the perpetual “shuttling” romanticized in the scholarly works discussed in Chapter 2 of the thesis. Or whether transnational living is more complex than the aforementioned dichotomized model suggests and, in recollecting, categorizing and transferring familiar sets of relations into new living situations, the actors also stretch, transform and recontextualize these relations as well as the aspects of realities with which they become associated, as I have theoretically anticipated by introducing the notion of transnational networking. As explicated in Chapter 3 of the thesis, to answer these questions I trace and unpack the acts of interdiscursivity and transdiscursivity. That is, by moving analytically across diverse multimodal segments of data registered in my data archive, I follow and unpack the ways in which in the actors’ interaction stretched across multiple semiotic, physical and social sites, diverse discursive frameworks become linked and incorporated within each other. In addition, I uncover how these interdiscursive constructs become mobilized to organize the aspects of realities, i.e. genres, regimes and arrangements, that are not in themselves or are not entirely discursive and that transgress the social and semiotic context within which these constructs were produced and invoked.

## II.1. Memory Work

***“Cultural memory [...] is only partially a mirror, cracked and encrusted, that sheds its light on the dark places of the present, waking a witness here, quickening a hidden fact there, bringing you face-to-face with that anxious and impossible temporality, the past-present. Other than playing on the planes of the past and the present, memory is also a movement of the mind that suddenly shifts between the scenes of conscious life, and the mise-en-scène of unconscious dreams and desires. Like a Moebius strip, memory does not merely transform the appearance of things but changes the very dimensions of our thinking and feeling, bending time into strange, yet semblant, shapes so that our past experiences that unexpected turns and twists and open up passages that lead to the present and the future...” (Bhabha 2008 :43)***

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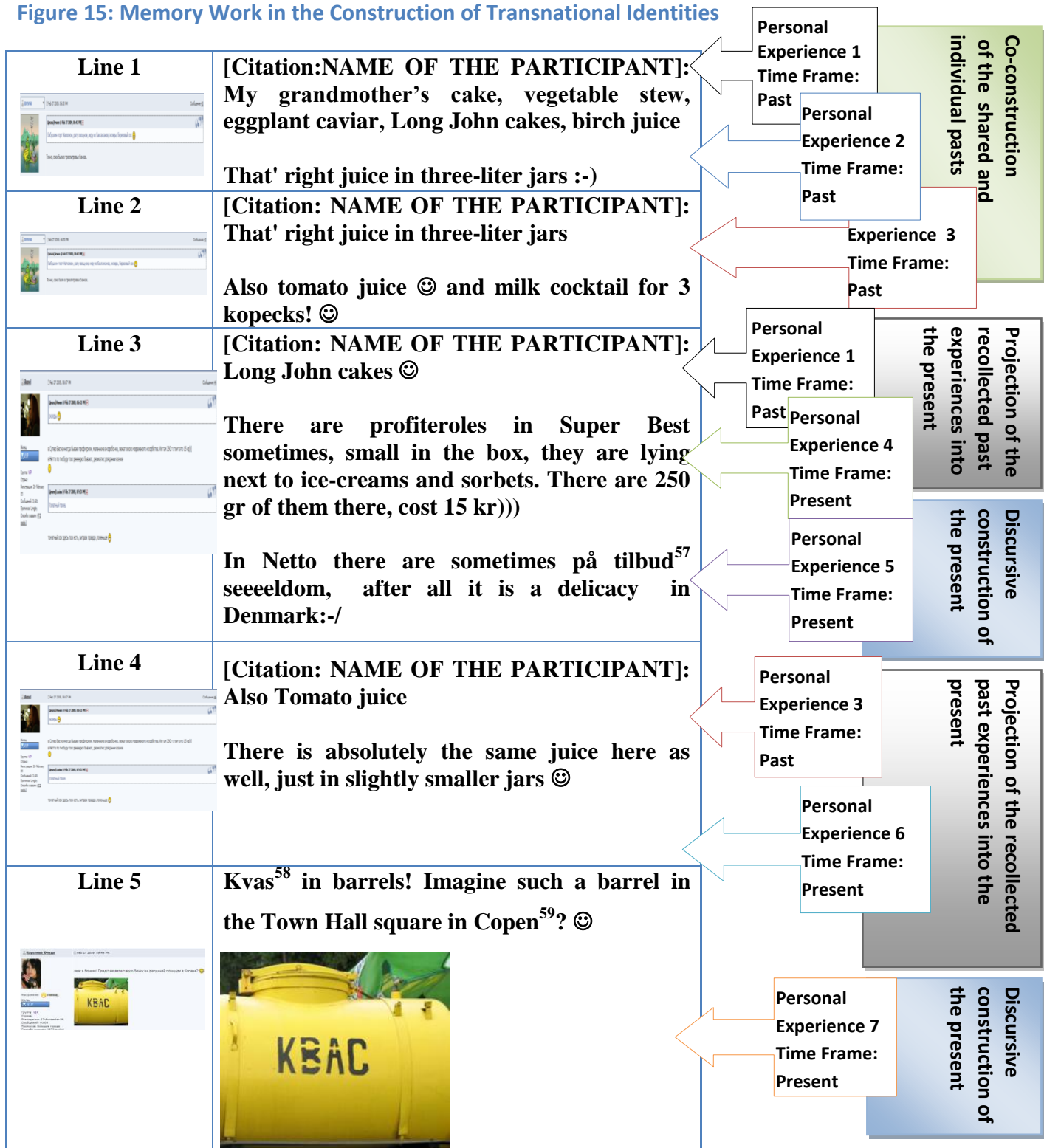
I begin the analytical investigation formulated above from the same computer-mediated interactional context in relation to which I unpacked the construction of familiar categories in the previous section. In the discussion topic on Rusforum “From childhood, who remembers what”<sup>56</sup> the articulation and negotiation of meanings, values, routines, which the actors list in constructing the categories of “our” and “Russian” the actors do not only conflate the accounts of individual experiences with the elements of shared, social habitus, the so called *collective memory* (Halbwachs, 1992) (see analysis of e.g. data excerpts 20-28) which, as emphasized earlier, represent one of the central mechanisms of memory work (Middleton & Brown, 2005, p. 3). The participants of the interaction events in focus also continuously shift between nostalgic accounts of the supposedly shared past and the aspects of realities immediately and presently relevant to their lives.

For instance, as Figure 15 illustrates, in the following many-to-many conversational sequence, the actors discursively move between narrative frames that invoke personal life stories and collective past. In juxtaposing, comparing and verifying these discursive descriptions against each other they do not only negotiate the categories of familiar and shared (as described earlier in this chapter) but also imagine and project the sets of relations invoked through these categories (discursively labelled as “our” and/or “Russian”) onto their current living experiences.

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<sup>56</sup>< <http://rusforum.dk/index.php?showtopic=14855>>, Appendix III.14

Figure 15: Memory Work in the Construction of Transnational Identities



<sup>57</sup> "på tilbud" (Danish) – on special offer

<sup>58</sup> "Kvas" (from Russian "Квас") - "bread drink", popular Russian non-alcoholic fermented beverage

<sup>59</sup> Copen (Copenhagen) – from vernacular of Russian-speaking immigrants in Denmark

As Figure 15 demonstrates, the conversational event in focus is organized multi-sequentially through the use of “citation” function available within the computer-mediated social site Rusforum within which the captured interaction took place. Line 1 represents a reply on the comment in which one of the forum’s participants makes relevant a particular aspect of prandial practices through the discursive account of his/her personal experience associated with this aspect. The reply produced in Line 1 confirms the experience described in the previous comment and cited in the post, elaborating on one of its elements: “That’ right juice in three-liter jars :-)”. Similarly, in Line 2, another participant continues the chain of associations, which is being constructed in relation to this particular product, by confirming the previously made account and adding to it a set of new experiences: “Also tomato juice ☺ and milk cocktail for 3 kopecks! ☺”. The avowal is accomplished through both elements of verbal language (adverb “also” which acknowledges and verifies the proceeding utterance) and of visual language (graphic projection of smiling emoticon used in response to the smiling expression giving in the preceding comment). Thus, in the course of the two lines, through the discursive construction of the chain of associations that links together a number of personal experiences in relation to the invoked aspect of prandial practices, the actors negotiate a category of familiar, “our” anchored in the shared past.

What then happens in the next two lines (Line 3 and 4) is that their author picks up two of the links in the constructed associative chain (by citing two segments of the previous comment “Long John cakes ☺”, Line 3, and “Also Tomato juice”, Line 4) and incorporate them the accounts of three experiences situated in the current living context:

- “There are profiteroles in Super Best sometimes, small in the box, they are lying next to ice-creams and sorbets. There are 250 gr of them there, cost 15 kr)))”
- “In Netto there are sometimes på tilbud seeeeldom, after all it is a delicacy in Denmark:-/”
- “There is absolutely the same juice here as well, just in slightly smaller jars ☺”

In doing so, the author links the discursive accounts of which the associative chain constructed in the previous lines is composed and, thereby the categories of “our” and familiar and the reconstruction of shared past, represented and invoked by these accounts to the current living context - to a different national, political and cultural “here” (Line 4) whose concrete national context is discursively indicated in Line 3 through naming (“Denmark”) as well as through the use of Russian transliteration of Danish expression “på tilbud” (“on special offer”) in the utterance.

In the next line, this discursive projection of ‘past’ into ‘present’ of ‘there’ into ‘here’, which takes place across national and linguistic borders and which compresses both time and distance, is continued through the “imagining” (Line 5) of a particular scenario: “Kvas<sup>60</sup> in barrels! Imagine such a barrel in the Town Hall square in Copen<sup>61</sup>? ☺”. The use of “Copen” – a way of addressing Copenhagen common in vernacular of Russian-speaking immigrants in Denmark – alludes to the concrete details of what ‘here’ means for the author of the post. The humorous effect of the utterance fulfils the closing function in the organization of the conversation in focus as well as confirming the articulation of difference between ‘here’ and ‘there’ initiated by the author of Line 3 through the sarcastic remark “after all it is a delicacy in Denmark” reinforced by the use of graphic projection of the sceptical emoticon “:-/”.

The analysis above makes visible how in negotiating the meanings and accounts associated with the categories of “our” and “Russian” and recontextualized within prandial discourses, the actors open for re-visiting and for the re-assessment collective and individual pasts. In addition, it demonstrates how in the course of this memory work, intertwined with categorical work, they discuss and make sense of matters and issues relevant to their immediate living contexts that are formed by different national and cultural attachments, thereby cutting across symbolic and political, national and geographic borders that frame these contexts. In doing so the actors shift between the emphasis on their similarities: “There is absolutely the same juice here as well, just in slightly smaller jars ☺” (Line 4) and differences: “after all it is a delicacy in Denmark”:-/” (Line 3), Line 5, both of which become accomplished by the discursive networking of the categories through which these contexts become classed and represented, labeled and negotiated.

What these analytical observations mean for the study of transnational living in which I am engaged is that transnationality is not some sort of point of no return, which is generated at the moment of physical and geographical movement and which splits the lives of individuals into *past* and *present*, *home* and *host*. On the contrary, transnational mobility is a way of living, interacting and acting, which feeds and strives on the constant connecting between temporally and physically distant points of references that I term transnational networking.

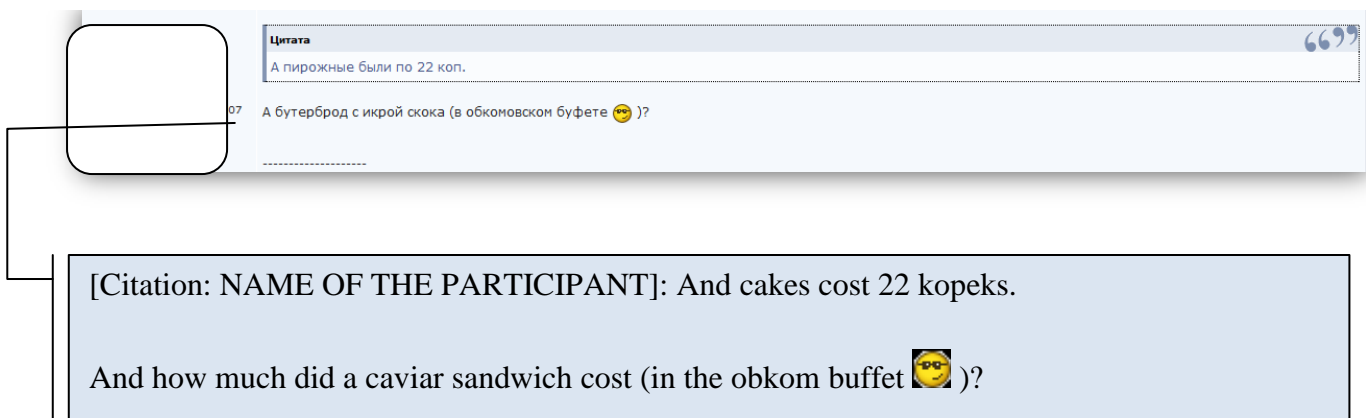
Very often in the memory work addressed above, individual memories, these preferred personal truths, bounce off master truths that comprise *history*, “a privileged overview of the past that is

<sup>60</sup> “Kvas” (from Russian “Квас”) - “bread drink”, popular Russian non-alcoholic fermented beverage

<sup>61</sup> Copen (Copenhagen) – from vernacular of Russian-speaking immigrants in Denmark

granted to the historian by virtue of unrivalled access to documents, evidence and matters of record” (Middleton & Brown, 2005, p. 3), creating a potential for revising and re-writing of both. Such negotiations might involve more or less remote historical narratives (within which are embedded personal narratives) such as the corruption of the Soviet government and the “mess” of perestroika times.

*Excerpt 29<sup>62</sup>*



The image shows a screenshot of a social media interface. On the left, there is a small, empty square profile picture placeholder. To its right, a light blue rectangular box contains a quote. The quote is in Russian and mentions the cost of cakes and a caviar sandwich. A line connects the profile picture placeholder to a larger, light blue rectangular box on the right, which contains an English translation of the quote. The quote box has a 'Цитата' (Quote) label and a quote icon in the top right corner. The translation box is labeled '[Citation: NAME OF THE PARTICIPANT]:' and contains the translated text.

Цитата

А пирожные были по 22 коп.

А бутерброд с икрой скока (в обкомовском буфете 😊)?

[Citation: NAME OF THE PARTICIPANT]: And cakes cost 22 kopeks.

And how much did a caviar sandwich cost (in the obkom buffet 😊)?

In the comment above a nostalgic stream of recollections about “good old Soviet times” has been interrupted by a reminder made by one of the participants that while things might have been cheap at that time, most of them were accessible only to the leadership of the party, while in the next example participants discuss the time frame and the intensity of shared and personal experiences connected to the chaotic events of post-Soviet, perestroika period.

<sup>62</sup> “Obkom” (from Russian “Обком”) - Province Party Committee, a regional administrative, governing unit in USSR



Excerpt 30<sup>63,64</sup>

Сообщение #24

Feb 27 2009, 10:33 PM

Цигара(Hopefull) @ Feb 27 2009, 10:07 PM

Километровые очереди за колбасой(1 кг сосисок в руки),зел.горошек и шпроты-по блату 😊 "Фанта" привезена из экскурсионной поездки в Львов,пили по глоточку 😊

Ну это у меня в подростковом периоде было... Правда в ЛТ все эти бардаки позднее начались чем в России

[Citation: NAME OF THE PARTICIPANT]: Kilometre-long queues for sausages (1kg. Sausages in one pair of hands), green peas in a can and kippers po blatu 😊 "Fanta" brought form the excursion to Lvov, drank it one sip at a time 😊

Well, through this I went in my teenage years... Really in LT all that mess began later than in Russia

Excerpt 30 illustrates “the tendency towards mythologisation” (Aksoy & Robins, 2003, p. 91) of the past experiences and images which evokes nostalgia “that most lyrical of feelings” that not only “crystallizes around these images like amber” (Hoffman, 1991, 115, as cited in Aksoy & Robins, 2003, p. 91) but also dramatically romanticizes and idealizes the contexts with which they are associated. So that even objectively unpleasant moments such as standing “Kilometre-long queues for sausages” or buying Fanta in Lvov in such modest amounts that it could only be drunk “one sip at a time” trigger, instead of negative emotions, nothing more than good-hearted laughter “😊” or become totally dismissed, distanced and re-ascribed from the concrete personal context: “Really in LT all that mess began later than in Russia”.

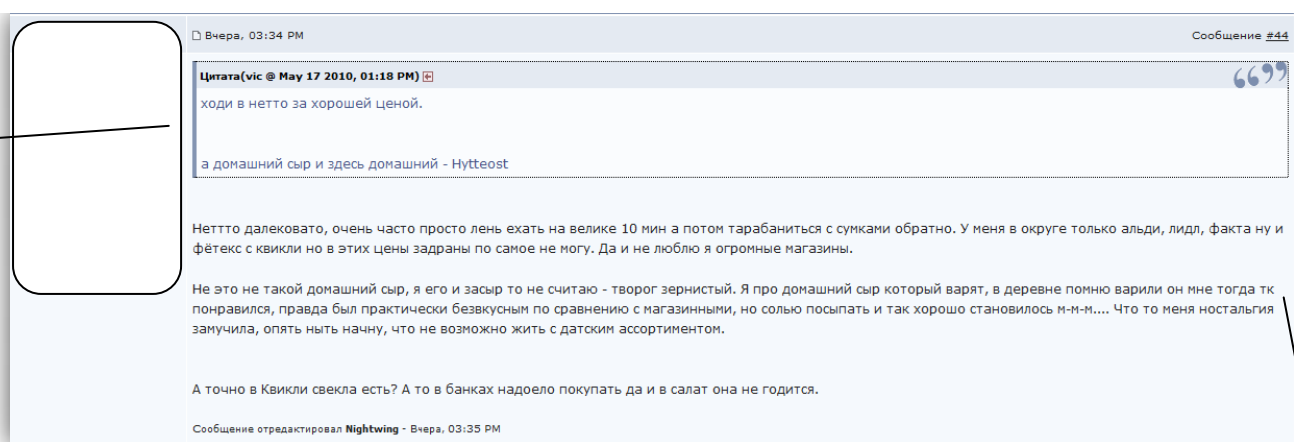
Many of the actors’ comments reveal their awareness of the place that nostalgia and the acts of remembering that are addressed above occupy in their lives as well as an awareness of the fact that a large part of this remembering is associated with food. For instance, in Excerpt 31, one of the

<sup>63</sup> “Po blatu” (from Russian “По блату” - By or via “blat” (from Russian “блат”), informal connections to people in the position of power (Party leadership, black market dealers, mafia members etc.)

<sup>64</sup> LT - abbreviation from Lithuania ( Rusforum jargon)

Rusforum's participants stops him/herself short in the middle of nostalgic recollection of such aspect of prandial practices as making and tasting home-made cheese by a self-reflective remark showing both the aforementioned awareness of the role that nostalgia plays in this concrete account ("I am preyed by nostalgia again, now I'll start whining about how I am unable to live with the Danish food assortment") as well as indicating that the discursive scenario along which the nostalgia is played out in interaction has been repeated in the other accounts and is now recognizable: "I am preyed by nostalgia again, now I'll start whining [...]".

### Excerpt 31



[Citation: NAME OF THE PARTICIPANT]: Go to Netto for a good price.

As for the home-made cheese, it is home-made here as well – Hytteost

[...] Nope this is not this kind of home-made cheese, I don't consider it to be cheese at all – lumpy tvorog. I am talking about home-made cheese, which is boiled, in my village I remember they used to boil it I liked it so much then, it was basically tasteless though in comparison to the one from a shop, but put some salt on it and it became so good m-m-m... I am preyed by nostalgia again, now I'll start whining about how I am unable to live with the Danish food assortment. [...]

What is remarkable in relation to the examination of categorization and memory work and their role in representing and organizing the aspects of realities relevant to the actors living is that the discursive mechanisms involved in this work, which I mapped out in relation to the actors' interaction within the computer-mediated place, Rusforum, are also traceable in the discursive descriptions, which I collected through the ethnographic work carried out in the other site of actors' engagement, the "Russian" shop in Aalborg.

Namely, by examining the assortment of the products available in the shop, I identified that the marketing strategies of the food industry specifically targeted at the Russian-speaking migrants in Europe plays upon the same acute awareness of the connection between nostalgic re-imagining of such categories as "our" and "Russian" and food-related practices, which I mapped out in the analysis above. This becomes visible in the discursive inscriptions on the labels of "Russian Kvas" and salted tomatoes produced in Germany and sold in the "Russian" shop in Aalborg.

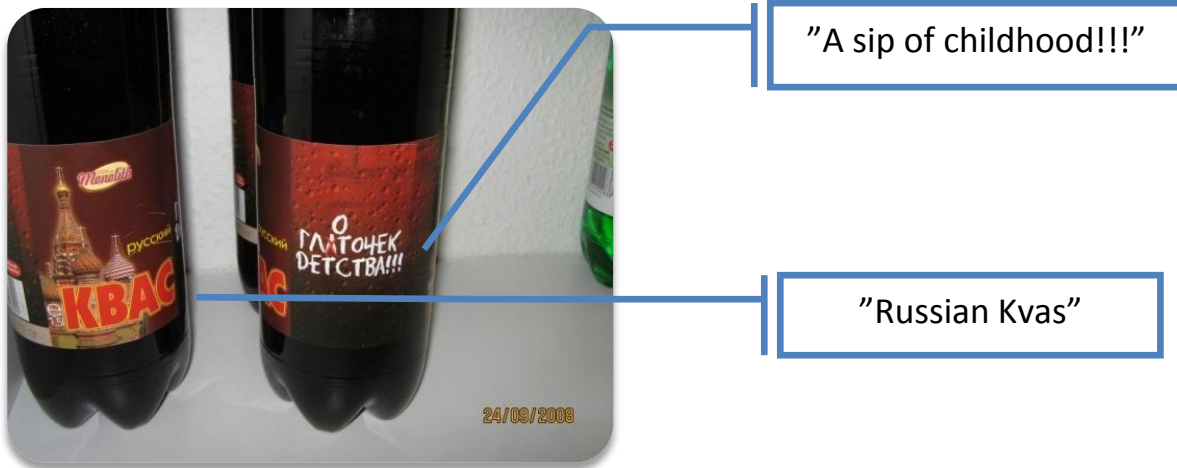


Image 24: Sadko, 24.09.2008



Image 25: Sadko, 24.09.2008

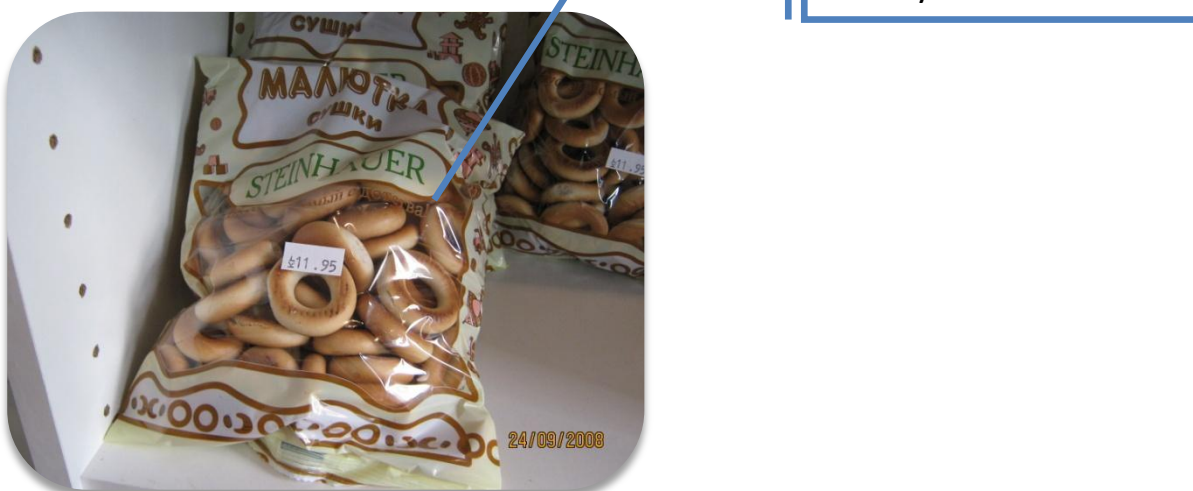


Image 26: Sadko 24.09.2008

Image 24 illustrates how by coupling the verbal message of the slogan, represented with graphics mimicking wobbly and faulty children's writing, with the physical attribute of national landscape - "the iconic image of urban (capital) heartland" (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010, p. 7) – domes of Saint Basil's Cathedral, the German producers and distributors of "Russian" food discursively anchor their product in the construct of Russianness, as temporally and geographically distant 'lost land' of the actors' childhood memories. The same rhetorical purpose is achieved through the discursive descriptions on the product packages represented in the Images 25 and 26 both of which appeal to the category of familiar and supposedly shared past. The message illustrated in the Image 25 invokes this category through the transformed (most likely with the humorous intent) first line of a propagandistic child song famous in Soviet times: "Let it always be sun!", while the discursive description illustrated in the Image 26 makes it relevant through the explicit reference to "the familiar taste of your childhood". The above-described marketing strategy operates, firstly, through the articulation of temporal and spatial disentanglement from the familiar, reliable and shared experiences ("taste", "sip" or a children's song) to trigger nostalgic emotions. Secondly, it encourages the potential customers to recollect and re-imagine these experiences, longing for which the market strategists cultivate in an attempt to influence their consumption patterns, by providing them with a tangible and an achievable product, which discursively and iconically represents the imagined Russianness.

Such an immediate and direct incorporation into the trading and advertising mechanisms of the discursive constructions, acts of remembering, matters of belonging on which the actors rely in categorizing and organizing the more or less distant (temporally, geographically and symbolically) aspects of realities demonstrate that transnational living is not organised on the separate scales of the economic, the social and the personal. Instead, it takes place at the intersection of the diverse sets of relations, which is produced through the incorporation and hybridization of *genres*, which mediate these relations – what Norman Fairclough refers to as *interdiscursivity* (Fairclough, 2003, p. 33). The incorporation of categories and meanings that the actors construct in the course of their daily interaction (through such aspects of it as memory work) by the promotional genres that serve industrial and commercial structures represents one of the acts of interdiscursivity through which transnational networking (and transnational living enabled by it) are organized and which I continue to explore further in my analysis.

What I have demonstrated so far is that when the categorizations and meanings constructed in the actors' everyday practices and interactions are repeated and replicated in the multitude of microscopic details of which the actors' lives are composed, across multiple sites of their engagement and diverse semiotic fields that enable these engagement, then the categories generated in association with these unremarkable acts become disseminated into the various aspects of the realities relevant to the actors (economic, familial, cultural, etc.), linking in their circulation these diverse facets of living and, ultimately, participating in organizing this living. It is this organizing function of the categorizations (and of discursive mechanisms through which they are being constructed across national symbolic, cultural and political borders) that makes them significant and it is exactly what makes the examination of the mundane acts, which mediate their construction and enactment, imperative to the study of transnational mobility. In the next section of this chapter, I, thus, shall continue to examine the ways in which the circulation of discursive constructs and of the actors' actions across the social and physical sites involved in my ethnographic work participate in the networking of practices and aspects of realities that enable transnational living.

## II.2. Making Transnational Mobility Tangible

In the previous section, I began to explore the networking of social, economic, familial and cultural relations through which transnational living is organized and which takes place across multiple sites of actors' engagement, such as Rusforum and the "Russian" shop in Aalborg.

In the interview with Fatima, the owner of the shop "Sadko"<sup>65</sup>, I have learnt that the shop's function transgresses its obvious commercial purposes. Besides being the site of mercantile practices and capitalist exchange, "Sadko" functions as an active social site – a meeting place for Russian-speaking people, for migrants from Poland and Rumania, their families, etc. This social facet of this site of actors' engagement is realized through diverse interaction orders and forms. Apart from casual and unplanned communication that accompanies shopping, this interaction includes:

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<sup>65</sup> September 24, 2008,



- get-togethers and parties, which Fatima hosts in the café space of the shop (see image 27)



**Image 27: “Sadko” September 24, 2008**

- exchange of books and journals in Russian, Danish and English (see image 28 and 29)



**Image 29: “Sadko” September 24, 2008  
(journals available for reading in the shop,  
for borrowing and exchange)**



**Image 29: “Sadko” September 24, 2008 (books  
available for reading in the shop, for borrowing  
and exchange)**

- as well as posting on the walls of the shop ‘selling’ and ‘buying’ notes and other announcements (for instance, as mentioned in Chapter 4, the openings of Rusmam and the Russian school were announced through both - posts on Rusforum and hand-written notes on the wall of “Sadko”).

Thus, interaction, which takes place within this particular site of actors’ engagement, involves multiple forms of media (and both co-present and distributed-in-time interaction orders) and links together a number of practices, such as shopping, socialising, raising children etc. In this process of



complex networking of people, semiotic fields, interaction orders and practices, the physical and geographic *space* of the “Russain” shop in Aalborg is being constantly made and re-made into a multifunctional *place* that enables the networking of these practices. Recontextualised through the actors’ acts, actions and discursive descriptions as a market place, a library, a news board, a pub or a banqueting room, “Sadko” serves as the node in the matrix of actors’ lives, which is connected to the other sites significant to their lives, such as Rusforum and Rusmam/the Russian school. I argue that it is this multilayered involvement in the actors’ practices that transforms this shop from the commercial site into the site of actors’ engagement. It is not only the circulation of capital but, first and foremost, the circulation of actors’ actions and interactions that sustain “Sadko” and similar shops and that vividly illustrates how economic, cultural and discursive practices are closely intertwined and feed into each other.

One of the products, which is, according to Fatima, highly popular among the shop’s customers and whose role in the actors’ interaction I have already begun to identify in the course of preliminary analysis of actors’ interaction (see Chapter 4), is tvorog. A popular curdled-milk-based food, and an essential product in small children’s diets, tvorog is a part of many “traditional” Russian recipes especially those connected to the religious practices of the Russian Orthodox Church. For instance, tvorog is the main ingredient in pas’ha a – a dish, which has been part of Easter celebration rituals in the orthodox religion for centuries. The significance of the product to the actors is articulated through hundreds of pages on Rusforum devoted to the issue of its availability in Denmark. The examples below illustrate just some of the 109 topics (approx. 18 discussion pages and 360 comments) initiated to discuss this specific product, namely, those in which ‘tvorog’ was included in the title<sup>66</sup>:

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<sup>66</sup> This list is a result of a search conducted through a search function on Rusforum with the following criteria: search word: “творог”; search area: names of the discussion topics.

Excerpt 32<sup>67,68</sup>

Ваши результаты						
Отметить все форумы прочитанными и вернуться на главную страницу						
	Название темы	Форум	Автор	Ответов	Просмотров	Последнее сообщение
	<a href="#">Творог</a> <input type="checkbox"/> 1 2 3 4 где купить?	<a href="#">Дом и Семья</a>			1,558	28th Mar <a href="#">Посл. со</a>
	<a href="#">Есть ли в Дании творог и протеин?</a>	<a href="#">Полезные советы</a>			873	2nd Octo <a href="#">Посл. со</a>
	<a href="#">Продаю творог</a> <input type="checkbox"/> 1 2 а так же сметана,ряженка	<a href="#">Свобода слова</a>			3,134	9th May 2 <a href="#">Посл. со</a>
	<a href="#">Неожиданная (про творог :) про свадьбу</a> Посоветуйте, кто знает церковь,фотографа	<a href="#">Свобода слова</a>			572	1st Novem <a href="#">Посл. со</a>
	<a href="#">Бывает ли в супермаркетах творог?</a> <input type="checkbox"/> 1 2 3	<a href="#">Полезные советы</a>			2,409	7th Septe <a href="#">Посл. со</a>
	<a href="#">Творог</a> <input type="checkbox"/> 1 2 3 подскажите как приготовить	<a href="#">Полезные советы</a>			1,946	31st July <a href="#">Посл. со</a>
	<a href="#">Продаю творог</a> а так же сметана,ряженка	<a href="#">Отдам-Куплю-Продан</a>			28	-- <a href="#">Посл. со</a>
Показать активные темы за: <input type="text" value="сегодня"/>						
	<a href="#">И снова о твороге:)</a> ну и кефире	<a href="#">Полезные совет</a>			13	1,597 1 0 По

## Tvorog

Is there tvorog in Denmark and protein?

Selling tvorog

A surprising one (about tvorog) ☺ and about wedding

Is there tvorog in supermarkets?

Tvorog. Please, tell me how to make it

And one more time about tvorog :) well and about kefir too

67

<[<sup>68</sup> “Kefir” \(from Russian “кефир”\) – Russian dairy product made of fermented milk](http://rusforum.dk/index.php?act=Search&CODE=show&searchid=16702d7afa0318565de96d63a5543b53&search_in=titles&result_type=topics&highlite=%2B%D2%E2%EE%F0%EE%E3></a></p>
</div>
<div data-bbox=)

According to the participants' own observations 'tvorog' represents one of the most popular discussion themes which in the conversational segment captured in Excerpt 33 is articulated through the sarcastic remark "My favourite topic is about tvorog – if it doesn't re-emerge for a couple of months I start to worry". The observational rather than evaluative character of the message conveyed by the utterance is emphasized by the use of double parenthesis "))" which graphically projects an accentuated smiling and which mitigates any resentment or bitterness, which might otherwise be read into the sarcastic comment.

### Excerpt 33

The screenshot shows a forum interface. The title bar reads 'Повторяющиеся темы' (Repeating topics). The first message, dated Aug 23 2006, 03:38 PM, contains the following text: 'За два года некоторые темы просто достали...Восхищаюсь мужеством и терпением тех, кто все время отвечает на одни и те же вопросы... Предлагаю перечислить темы, которые повторяются и повторяются... Меня больше всех достала тема Где может работать иммигрант... А вас?'. The second message, dated Aug 23 2006, 03:42 PM, says: 'моя любимая тема про tvorog - если пару месяцев не возобновляется, начинаю волноваться ))'. The word 'tvorog' is highlighted in yellow in the original image. A box labeled 'Repeated topics' points to the first message. Two other boxes point to the second message, containing its full text in English.

Repeated topics

In the course of two years one becomes just sick and tired of some of the topics...I admire the courage and patience of those, who keep answering one and the same questions... I suggest naming the topics, which come up again and again. I am mostly annoyed with the topic Where can an Immigrant find a job... What about you?

My favourite topic is about tvorog – if it doesn't re-emerge for a couple of months I start to worry ))

The Excerpt 34 represents another conversational segment within which the author points out the significance of this specific aspect of prandial practices “The theme of tvorog must be the most important one in the lives of Russians in Denmark”. In addition, it highlights another discursive function of this specific theme – trolling - which I have also identified in the course of the preliminary analysis of actors’ interaction on Rusforum (see Chapter 4): “Sorry about the offtop.”.

#### Excerpt 34

В Ирме вчера купила "сыры" от President "Rondele". Их было 4 этих ронделе, с добавками. 100 % белорусский творог хорошего качества. Извините за оффтоп. Тема про творог наверное самая важная в жизни русских в Дании. Цену забыла... в упаковочке 125 гр. Дочь была в восторге.

I have bought “cheeses” by President “Rondele” in Irma yesterday. There were 4 of those rondeles there, with flavour. 100% Byelorussian tvorog of good quality.

Sorry about the offtop. The theme of tvorog must be the most important one in the lives of Russians in Denmark. I forgot the price... 125 gr. a packet. My daughter was ecstatic.

As emphasized in the conversational segments above, tvorog circulates across diverse discussions on Rusforum systematically emerging in the numerous topics devoted to the themes represented in Figure 16:<sup>69</sup>

<sup>69</sup> The following chart is based on a search conducted with a search function on Rusforum with the criteria: search word: “творог”; search area: names of discussion topics, posts  
<[http://rusforum.dk/index.php?act=Search&CODE=show&searchid=767856c6a9829d707f5793e2e2c8c081&search\\_in=posts&result\\_type=topics&highlite=%2B%F2%E2%EE%F0%EE%E3](http://rusforum.dk/index.php?act=Search&CODE=show&searchid=767856c6a9829d707f5793e2e2c8c081&search_in=posts&result_type=topics&highlite=%2B%F2%E2%EE%F0%EE%E3)>

Figure 16: “Russian Food”, Tvorog



In the interaction taking place within the discussions enumerated in Figure 16, tvorog becomes resemiotized from a material object and a commercial product to a highly complex discursive construct that transcends the limits of prandial discourse with which (being a food product) it is immediately associated. In the course of the multiple conversational events, which I examined and which occurred within the framework of the discussion topics illustrated above, tvorog, in its discursive format, serves as an organizing category that weaves together a number of discourses relevant to the immediate, everyday actions and concerns of the participants, such as medical, pedagogical and national discourses. Within these interdiscursive constructions, tvorog serves as a *boundary object* – i.e. as a pragmatic discursive construction that does not represent universal and “transcendent truth” or meaning but that does “the job required” (Bowker & Star, 2000, p. 152). For instance, often in the course of the same discussion, it is assigned characteristics of a medical cure, a beauty product, a sport and a diet product, etc. and discursively positioned as a criterion of good mothering, of acceptable, approved child-care, as an expression of cultural difference as well as a

phase in migrant career. Transcript 3, which captures a conversational event that took place within another site of actors' engagement, Rusmam/the Russian school, illustrates this latter discursive function of tvorog. Or to be more exact, it demonstrates how practices, in which migrants tend to engage shortly after their arrival to a new place, in active and persistent attempts to rewire the familiar assemblage of connections networked around this material agency, become articulated in actors' descriptions as a threshold, a necessary and essential phase, through which a majority of newcomers go.

*Transcript 3: Rusmam Meeting, August 24, 2008*

- |             |                                                                             |
|-------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. U1:      | You must have more sheep milk there <sup>70</sup>                           |
| 2. Z:       | No we eat [tvorog] as well.. NORMAL [tvorog].                               |
| 3. Nadja:   | (turning to the researcher) We are talking about .. that there is a problem |
| 4.          | that the newcomers they come here and start .. ahh <<you know>>.. but       |
| 5.          | we are who has been here already.. we are sick and tired of this topic      |
| 6.          | that's why there is a border here.                                          |
| 7. U2:      | <Yes>                                                                       |
| 8. Nadja:   | (incomp.) Because naturally there is a stream of new people and the old     |
| 9.          | ones they have already become friends <<you know>> have polished            |
| 10.         | the sharp edges and this theme about [tvorog] and Danish men <<you          |
| 11.         | know>> language, school, attaining of the permit all this they have         |
| 12.         | passed but the newcomers.. naturally.. are coming out with these            |
| 13.         | problems but..we are not always are interested in hearing them.. already    |
| 14.         | not..that's why.                                                            |
| 15. Marina: | <Have you heard about this [odnoklassniky dot ru]>?                         |
| 16.         | you know there is a group there now Russian speaking in Denmark..           |
| 17.         | it is also about all these residence permits so I think it is going to be   |
| 18.         | easier now because all the newcomers can be sent there now and they can     |
| 19.         | read and talk about it THERE.                                               |

The transcript above comprises a conversational event, which took place during one of the informal get-togethers between Rusmam members. The conversation took place while the table was being set

<sup>70</sup> in Kazakhstan

for coffee and tea in the garden of one of the network members, which implies that the members were moving around, in and out of the house. The first two lines of the transcript are a part of an earlier conversational exchange and were recorded, while I was walking out of the house. This explains why in Line 3 Nadja turns around to me and shortly summarizes for me the topic of the conversation, thereby inviting me to join it. As demonstrated by Lines 3-6, this topic involves “new comers” and those “who has been here already” and a certain conflict between these two categories of migrants (“there is a problem”). Within the framework of this utterance the aforementioned two categories are being discursively juxtaposed to each other through being coupled with binary categories of ‘Us’ (“but we are”) and ‘Them’ (“they come here and start”). The ‘NEWCOMERS/THEY’ – ‘THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN HERE ALREADY/US’ dichotomy and the integral difference between these categories are intensified at the end of Line 6: “there is a border here”. By means of this categorization strategy, the speaker ascribes participants of the conversation in focus to the category of ‘Us’, who are the ones who suffer from the “problem” (“we are sick and tired”), while ‘They’ remains a collective and undefined category of “newcomers” who are the source of the aforementioned problem (“they come here and start”).

In the same conversational turn, the speaker – Nadja – identifies the problem. Firstly, by inserting into the speech stream “you know” pronounced in a fast tempo, she discursively constructs this problem as a commonly known and knowable feature to those who belong to the category of ‘Us’. Secondly, she indicates the core of the “problem” – “this topic”, where the demonstrative pronoun ‘this’ indexes the link to the previous line. The topic of this line is *tvorog* or to be more exact “normal *tvorog*”. The attribute “normal” is assigned to *tvorog* by the speaker Z as a way of regaining and reaffirming her membership to the category made relevant earlier in the conversation by invoking this specific food product. As evident in Line 1 this membership was challenged by another participant who attempted to ascribe Z to a different (from the dominant within this interactional context) category. This is accomplished through discursive otherizing and distancing: “you [...] there” as well as through invoking a specific practice associated with this category: “you must have more sheep milk there”. Z responds to being ascribed to the category of ‘other’ by resisting this ascription through production of a corrective repair, which consists of two parts: (1) rejection of what is being said, “no”, which initiates the repair, and (2) correction - “we eat *tvorog* as well”. Interestingly, in the same line the speaker accomplishes the aforementioned resistance to being otherized and reproduces the very same dichotomised categorisation that she strives to resist – “No *we* eat *tvorog* as well”. The repair line is followed after a short pause by an elaborative



utterance: “normal tvorog”. By invoking this specific food product with the accentuation on “normal” the speaker regains and affirms her belonging to the category in focus.

This particular mechanism of identity construction, which involves making relevant and operating with a membership category through discursive invoking and re-framing of the features associated with it, has already been described in the analysis in relation to Excerpt 17. Further in the chapter, I shall proceed to examine how the actors mobilize the orientational function of discursive practices to position themselves in relation to categories through which they class and represent the realities. In addition, I shall place the analytical focus on how the aforementioned discursive mechanisms are involved in the construction and negotiation of actors’ identities and memberships that cross cultural and national borders.

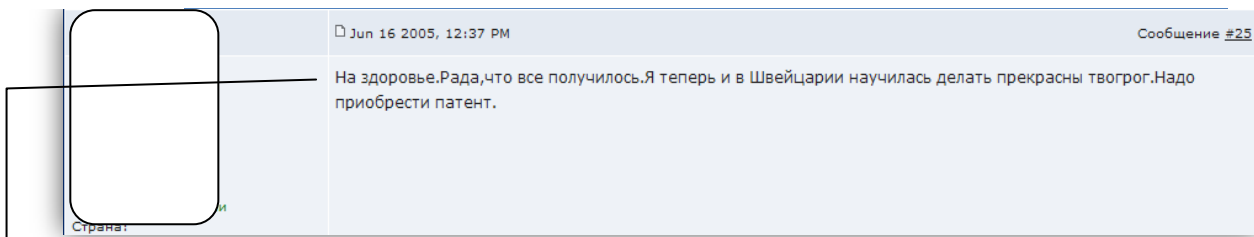
In the context of the current analytical segment, however, I, first and foremost, seek to emphasize that what the analysis of conversational and discursive organization made above demonstrates is the ways in which the actors invoke a particular aspect of prandial discourse – the consumption of tvorog – to produce a nuanced formulation of migrant membership category. Furthermore, this segment makes visible how the interdiscursive chain made up at the intersection of legal, educational, familial and prandial genres (“language school, attaining of the permit”, “Danish men”, Line 10, 11) and invoked through the discursive reference to tvorog becomes mobilized by the actors to formulate the categories of “them” and “us” (Lines 3-6), “newcomers” and those “who has been here already” (Lines 3-6), “here” (Rusforum) and “there” (<odnoklassniki dot ru>, Lines 15, 19 ) as well as to ascribe and re-ascribe their belonging to these categories associated with particular aspects of transnational living and stages of migrant career. It is exactly these acts of categorization, presentation and organization of realities and of memberships associated with these realities through recontextualization of discursive constructs and reproduction of discourses that I capture through the term transdiscursivity introduced in Chapter 3 of the thesis. While the notion of interdiscursivity (Fairclough, 2003) comes in handy in the examination of the mixing and hybridization of discourses, the concept of transdiscursivity grasps theoretically and analytically more complex mechanisms of discursive practices, which network these interdiscursive constructions into sets of relations outside the immediate interdiscursive chain and, thereby, enable the actors to organize these relational nexuses and their association with them.

The examination of the other interaction events, which took place within another site of actors' engagement, namely Rusforum, has shown that the aspect of prandial practices in focus (tvorog and the routines connected with acquiring and using this product) become woven into new economic, cultural and social sets of relations through multiple resemiotization of material and discursive agencies and actions of which it is composed. For instance, the established habitual acts of going to the shop and buying a ready-made product, in a new living context, become substituted with going on-line and looking for a recipe for making this product at home via a search engine on Rusforum or creating a discussion topic asking for the necessary information, printing the instructions out, looking for the ingredients and technological equipment needed for the production of tvorog, buying these goods, following the instructions for making the product, etc. In this massively extended and complicated network of relations, actions, places and agencies associated with this particular element of food-related practices, 'tvorog' undergoes multiple shifts of modalities being transformed from a discursive description in a search machine powered by the Internet, to a discussion topic in a computer-mediated social place, to printed on a piece of paper instructions for its production, to the selection of raw products displayed in the shop, to a sequence of actions that lead to its making, etc. These numerous resemiotizations are enabled by diverse semiotic fields, technologies and practices, which become networked together as the actors engage in, repeat and account for these practices in a recognizable and reproducible nexus of relations which stretches across national and cultural borders linking together numerous geopolitical places. It is by examining one of the aspects of the aforementioned networking – discursive accounts that the actors make in relation to it – that I can track, map out and discuss the circumference and mechanisms of this networking. For instance Excerpts 35, 36 and 37<sup>71</sup> represent segments of the participants' interaction on Rusforum which reveal that the networking associated with this particular food product (as well as resemiotization that enables this networking) are not specific to the particular interaction orders and sites of actors' engagement within which I identified and examined this networking within the framework of my project.

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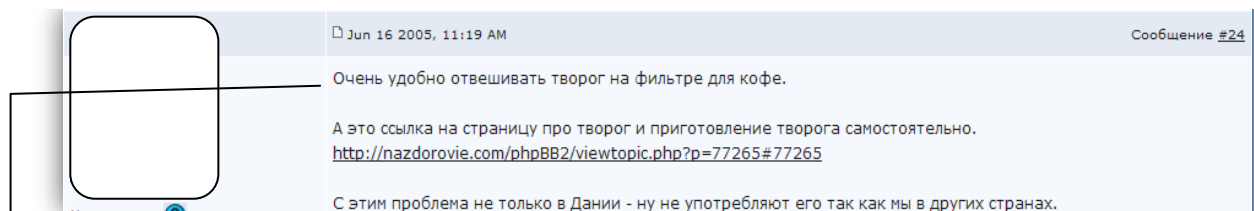
<sup>71</sup> <<http://rusforum.dk/index.php?s=22b7973d4bddd07d7c7b774831f91d82&showtopic=2225&hl=?????&st=0>>, Appendix III.15

*Excerpt 35*



You are welcome. I am happy that everything went well. I have now learned to make wonderful tvorog in Switzerland. I should get a patent on it.

*Excerpt 36*

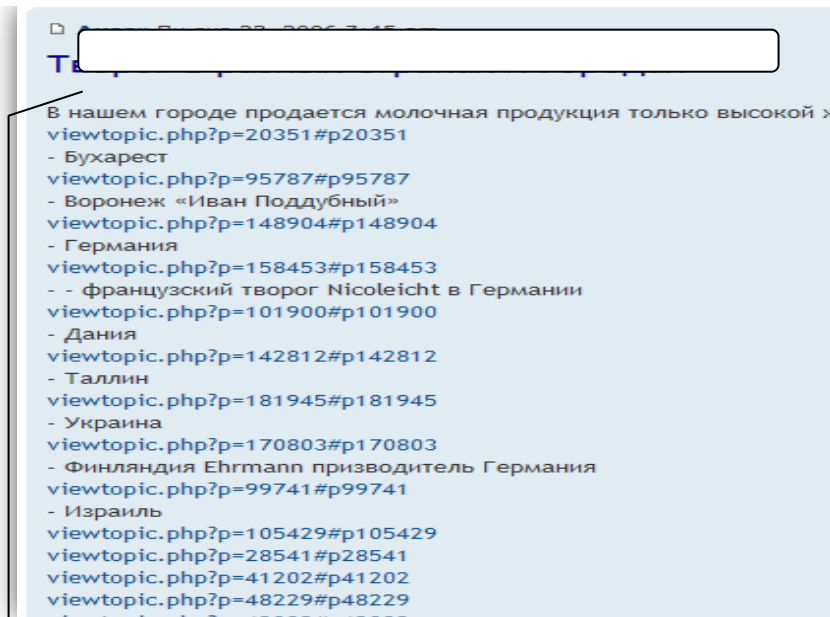


[...]

And this is a link to the site about tvorog and making it yourself.  
<http://nazdorovie.com/phpBB2/viewtopic.php?p=77265#77265>

This is a problem not only in Denmark – they just don't use it like we in the other countries.

Excerpt 37<sup>72</sup>



Tvorog in various countries and cities

viewtopic.php?p=20351#p20351 Bucharest

viewtopic.php?p=148904#p148904 Germany

viewtopic.php?p=158453#p158453 French tvorog Nicoleicht in Germany

viewtopic.php?p=170803#p170803, Finland Ehrmann made in Germany

viewtopic.php?p=99741#p99741 Israel viewtopic.php?p=99462#p99462 USA

viewtopic.php?p=83781#p83781 - Magere kwark (opgeklopt, uit verse melk) -  
whipped from the fresh milk made in Belgium

viewtopic.php?p=99517#p99517 - Franse magere kwark (Fris van smaak en licht  
verteerbaar) Made in: Melkan, Beesd NL

What the Excerpts 35-37 demonstrate is that the rewiring and extending of relational nexuses which I described above represents one of the established practices and routines of transnational living stabilized in the form of websites with the instructions for making tvorog specific to a number of different national and cultural contexts (Excerpts 36, 37) and discursively reproduced in

<sup>72</sup> <<http://nazdorovie.com/phpBB2/viewtopic.php?p=166413#p166413>>Appendix III.16

the actors' descriptions in relation to these diverse national and geographical places: "I have now learned to make wonderful tvorog in Switzerland. I should get patent on it" (Excerpt 35); "This is a problem not only in Denmark – they just don't use it like we in the other countries" (Excerpt 36).

The latter utterance does not only make visible the fact that the networking, which the actors enact in weaving the familiar relational nexuses with the sets of practices relevant to their immediate living situations, is recognized and made recognizable by the actors outside the current interaction context. It also indicates that this networking is concerned not only with acquiring the lacking food product but, first and foremost with attaining, of the "real", "authentic", "wholesome" or "pure" quality in it: "they just don't use it like we in the other countries" (Excerpt 36)". Ultimately, it is not the search for the product but the search for the illusive, undefined and distant authenticity that acts as the driving force behind the extensive relational rewiring in which actors engage across numerous and semiotically diverse sites. Earlier in the analysis, I have already pointed out the discursive articulation of this authenticity ("THAT taste", Excerpt 20) in relation to the examination of the categorization work, which the actors carry out within the framework of prandial discourse and by invoking such discursive constructs as "our" and "Russian" food. Below, I shall continue to examine how the actors make and mobilize the discursive coupling between normative regimes, materialities and discursivities labelled as "real", "wholesome", etc. and diverse aspects of prandial and child-rearing practices to categorize and organize diverse aspects of realities and their position in relation to them.

What the examination of actors' interaction shows is that the meanings and categories produced and made relevant through the aforementioned interdiscursive constructs are contested, arbitrary and ambiguous which becomes particularly visible in the selection of technological devices and ingredients that listed by the participants of Rusforum as mostly apt for the reproduction of tvorog with "THAT" taste, as opposed to "tvorog look-a-like", such as "hytteost"<sup>73,74</sup>. Among the equipment named by the actors as appropriate or convenient for the establishment of the home production of tvorog are coffee filters, a microwave stove and "something called like fabric for cheese or something [...] from the 'Stoff 2000'"<sup>75</sup> etc. The variety of the ingredients, which were reportedly used by the actors with a certain degree of success, is even broader, including such dairy products as "kvark" ("curd cheese"), "hytteost" ("Cottage cheese"), A38 (curdled-milk product),

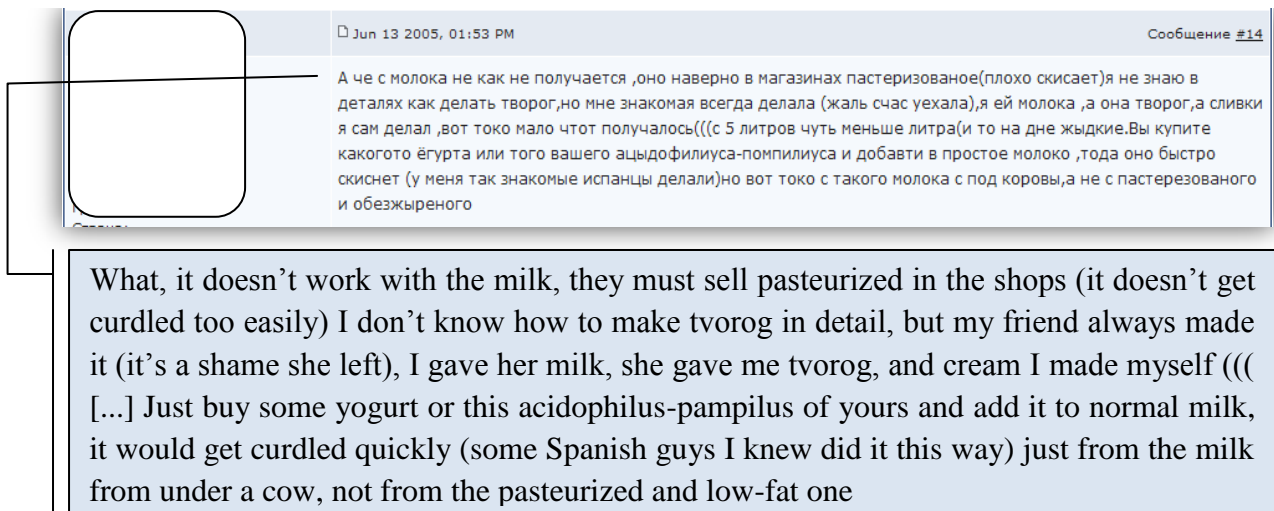
<sup>73</sup>< <http://rusforum.dk/index.php?showtopic=2225&hl=?????&st=>>, Appendix III.15

<sup>74</sup> "hytteost" (Danish) – Danish dairy product similar to cottage cheese (English)

<sup>75</sup>< <http://rusforum.dk/index.php?showtopic=2225&hl=?????&st=20>>, Appendix III.15

“kærnemælk” (“buttermilk”), whole milk, sour-cream, mascarpone cheese, grill cheese, “rygeost” (smoked curdled-milked cheese), ricotta, “ymer” (curdled-milk product). Sometimes in an attempt to achieve the desired authenticity actors start the production of the “real” tvorog from the production of the “real” ingredients”<sup>76</sup>:

### Excerpt 38



Jun 13 2005, 01:53 PM Сообщение #14

А че с молока не как не получается ,оно наверно в магазинах пастеризованое(плохо скисает)я не знаю в деталях как делать творог,но мне знакомая всегда делала (жаль счас уехала),я ей молока ,а она творог,а сливки я сам делал ,вот токо мало чтоот получалось(((с 5 литров чуть меньше литра(и то на дне жидкие.Вы купите какогото ёгурта или того вашего ацидофилиуса-помпилиуса и добавти в простое молоко ,тода оно быстро скиснет (у меня так знакомые испанцы делали)но вот токо с такого молока с под коровы,а не с пастерезованого и обезжыренного

What, it doesn't work with the milk, they must sell pasteurized in the shops (it doesn't get curdled too easily) I don't know how to make tvorog in detail, but my friend always made it (it's a shame she left), I gave her milk, she gave me tvorog, and cream I made myself ([...] Just buy some yogurt or this acidophilus-pampilus of yours and add it to normal milk, it would get curdled quickly (some Spanish guys I knew did it this way) just from the milk from under a cow, not from the pasteurized and low-fat one

As the excerpt above illustrates, the author of the comment in focus constructs in association with this food product a complex interdiscursive chain that links normative regimes (“normal milk”) with discourses of health-care, organic farming and back-to-basics living (“the milk from under a cow, not from the pasteurized and low-fat one”), thereby weaving all of the aforementioned regimes and sets of practices and the ways of accounting for and making sense of these practices into the categories constructed as familiar (e.g. categories labelled as “our”) which become invoked through the references to this specific aspect of prandial discourse.

Sometimes, the ambiguity of the meanings assigned to the experiences, practices and material agencies articulated by the participants as “real” becomes picked up and challenged by the actors, which can be seen in the two sarcastic comment exchanges below<sup>77</sup>:

<sup>76</sup> < <http://rusforum.dk/index.php?showtopic=2225&hl=?????&st=0>>, Appendix III.15

<sup>77</sup> <<http://rusforum.dk/index.php?showtopic=2225&hl=?????&st=40>>, Appendix III.15

Excerpt 39

Jul 31 2005, 11:57 AM Сообщение #46

**Цитата** (nata @ 31.07.2005 - 11:41)

**Цитата** (Ptika-sini4ka @ 31.07.2005 - 00:28)

Меня, тут, подружка угостила молоком настоящим, до конца жизни не забуду.

Что значит настоящим? 😬 ?????????????? Свое личное что-ли????????? 😬

Непастеризованное.

[Citation: NAME OF THE PARTICIPANT]: My girlfriend has recently given me some real milk to taste, I shan't forget it for the rest of my life.

[Citation: NAME OF THE PARTICIPANT]: What do you mean real? 😬

???????????????? Her own or what ????????

Unpasteurized

In the excerpt 39 one of the Rusforum participants challenges another interactant's use of the word "real" earlier in the conversation. The comment begins with the question "What do you mean real?", which is accentuated in four ways:

1. by translittering<sup>78</sup> the first two letters in the word "что" ("что"). As in the rest of the comment all of the sounds (including "ч") are conveyed through Cyrillic symbols, the usage of translit clearly aims at indicating a specific prosody – putting stress on the word "что" ("what").
2. by capitalizing the first transliterated letters in "what"
3. by inserting an emoticon "😬", conveying a shocked/surprised facial expression
4. and, finally by adding a series of question marks.

<sup>78</sup> Using transliteration to convey the sounds of Russian language and letters of Cyrillic alphabet through symbols of Latin alphabet on the keyboard.



Such a multiple and semiotically diverse way of emphasising the question indicates an exaggerated surprise and wondering of the author about the meaning assigned to the concept “real”. The questioning of this concept turns into an overt mocking of resolute, uncontested character of its use in the course of the conversation (“Her own or what?????”). Multiple question marks and a “laughing and teasing” emoticon “😄” stress humorous undertones of the line, softening to some extent its sarcastic content. The reply on this comment, however, does not uptake the implication made in it regarding the arbitrariness of the attribute “real” and closes down further humour with a concise and explicitly informative reply - “unpasteurised”. This reply alludes to an earlier discussion of the possibility of using processed milk from the shops for producing tvorog.

Similarly, in the next excerpt from the discussion topic “Cheeses, will you help me with the names of the cheeses”<sup>79</sup>, the speaker uses sarcasm to question other participants’ “pain-and-suffering” connected to the quest for the cheese, which would have the “close to heart”, “normal, close to our” or at least “eatable not Russian of course” taste.

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<sup>79</sup>< <http://rusforum.dk/index.php?showtopic=19804&st=0>>, Appendix III.17

Excerpt 40

Прям так уж и любые?  
Ну расскажите тогда, где купить плавленный сыр Коралл? Люблю его очень, привезла в последний раз пару пачек из Москвы, так давно съела уже. И где его теперь в Дании, в которой якобы "все есть", раздобыть??



Сообщение #62

Сегодня, 11:32 AM

+1 Вик

А чем Бук с креветками не угодил - те же остатки сыров переплавленные, в которые для вкуса креветки брошены.. Или наши остатки роднее чем их?  
<http://www.arla.dk/produkter/Brands/BUKO/buko-rejeost-40/>

Seriously?  
Tell me then where to buy melted cheese “Korall”? I love it very much, brought it the last time from Moscow, it’s all gone a long time ago. And where do I find in Denmark where allegedly “there is everything”??

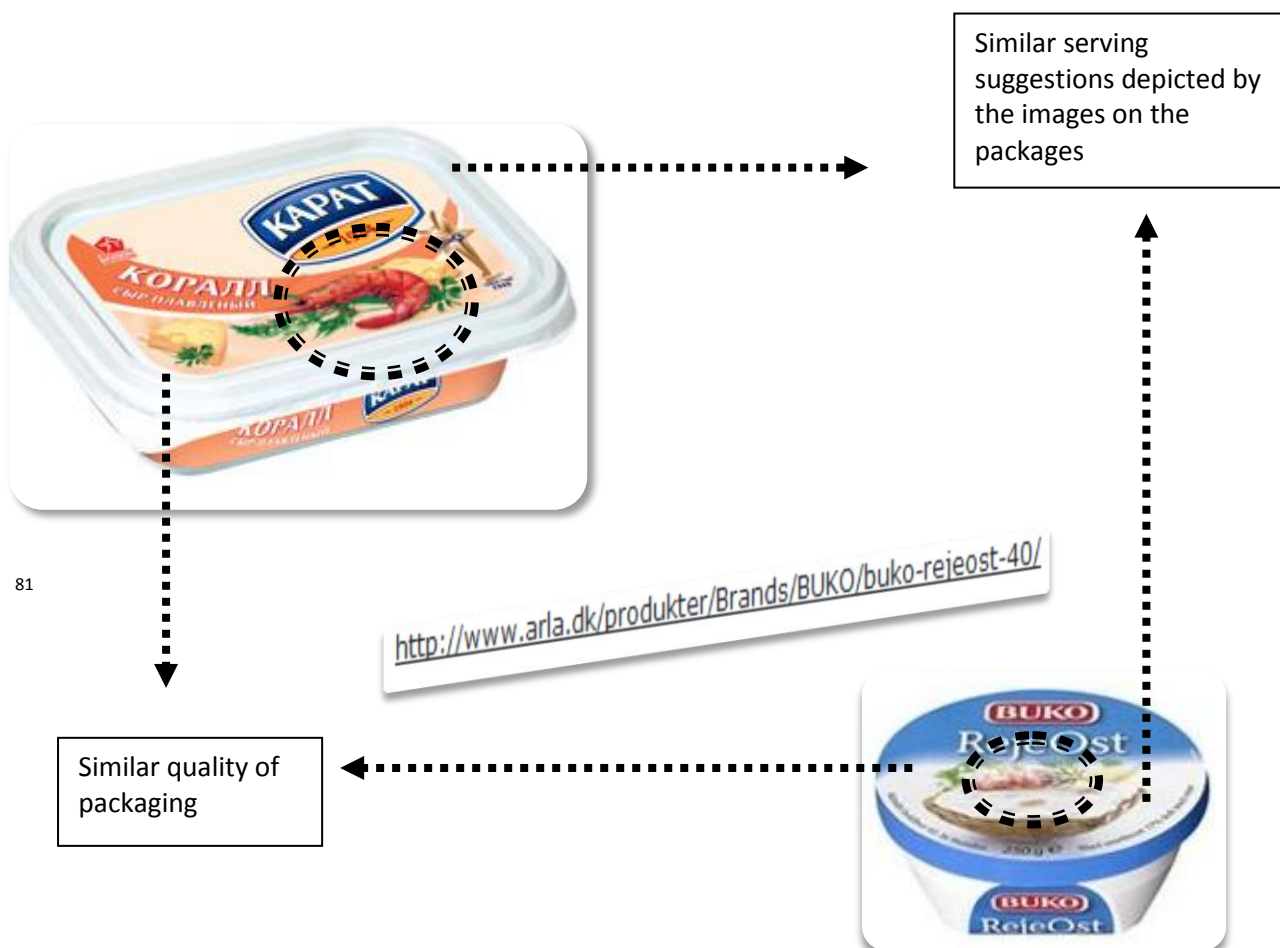
+1 [NAME OF THE PARTICIPANT]:  
And what’s wrong with Buko with shrimps – the same melted cheese leftovers... Or are our leftovers closer to your heart than theirs?  
<http://www.arla.dk/produkter/Brands/BUKO/buko-rejeost-40/>

In answering the comment, whose author complains about not being able to find an acceptable alternative to Russian melted cheese with shrimps “Korall” in Denmark (“where allegedly ‘there is everything’”), the commentator starts by drawing the participants’ attention to the fact that Danish cheese Buko is produced in the same way as its Russian equivalent. This is followed by a direct, confrontational and sarcastic question: “Or are our leftovers closer to your heart than theirs<sup>80</sup>?”, which, as opposed to the previous conversational example, is not mitigated by any iconic or

<sup>80</sup> Danish

syntactical mechanisms. In doing so the speaker dismisses one of the rhetorical arguments common on Rusforum that discursively links Russianness to the physiological aspect of prandial practices – taste, allegedly achieved through a particular manufacturing process or recipe (“leftovers” are “leftovers”). In the comment, the visual element of the previous conversational line (image of the Russian cheese) is balanced by the link to the website of the manufacturer of the proposed Danish alternative, which displays the image of Buko cheese. Figure 17 illustrates - mediated by the hyperlink – the visual parallel through which the author of the comment discursively points out parallels in the material and visual form of the product in focus (its packaging), thereby stressing the arbitrary nature of the unique taste assigned to Russian food products.

Figure 17:



<sup>81</sup> < <http://www.arla.dk/produkter/Brands/BUKO/buko-rejeost-40/>>, Appendix III.18

The figure vividly illustrates how in the course of the actors' everyday interaction, meaning is being constructed across multiple sites and how the actors make use of hypermedial resources to mobilize in the meaning production discursive constructs and material objects outside the immediate interactional and semiotic context (such as product descriptions generated by the marketing department of "Arla" (Danish-Swedish dairy company) made available on its website).

Apart from making visible the multi-semiotic character of meaning-making, the conversational segment in focus also demonstrates how by challenging the discursive coupling constructed by the other participants between particular food products and sets of normative regimes and meanings labelled "real", "normal", "wholesome", etc., the author of the post challenges the membership categorizations ("our" and "their") associated with these elements of prandial discourse and invoked through references to them as well as the features attributed to these memberships such as favourable attributions to "our" ("close to heart", "normal", etc.) and unfavourable attribution to "their" ("eatable not Russian of course")<sup>82</sup>.

The negotiation of features ascribed to the memberships categorizations, discursively marked as "our" and "their", mapped out in the analysis above takes place across numerous interactional events, which I have registered in the course of my ethnographic work, and across the sites of actors engagement around which this work was organized. In this negotiation, the place of production seems to be one stable point of reference, which the actors mobilize to determine a degree of authenticity of a particular Russian product. Through examining the assortment of products in Sadko as well as from the interview with the owner of the shop and from the actors' conversations on Rusforum, in the Russian school and in Rusmam, I have learnt that the food advertised and sold as "Russian" in Denmark and in other European countries is produced, stored and sold outside Russia (in Germany, Poland, Moldova, Romania, Czechoslovakia and the Baltic countries). This is illustrated by the images 30 and 31 below.

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<sup>82</sup> <<http://rusforum.dk/index.php?showtopic=19804&st=0>>, Appendix III.17



Image 30: Sadko, 24.09.2008

"<http://www.monolith-gruppe.de>"

"Огурцы малосольные" –  
Salted Cucumbers, low on salt

"Zakuska" – transliteration from Russian  
"Закуска" (Snack, appetizer)

"Eingelegte würzige gurken"

"Malsoslnie" – transliteration from  
Russian "Малосольные" (lightly salted  
products)



Image 31: Sadko, 24.09.2008

"Steinhauer"

"ТОМАТЫ ПО-КАВКАЗСКИ" –  
Tomatoes, Caucasian recipe

"Eingelegte tomaten kawkasischer  
art"

The images above portray examples of the food products sold in what is being addressed by the Rusforum participants and by the members of Rusmam and the Russian school as the "Russian" shop. As emphasized in Chapter 4, this national association is also conveyed by the name of the shop – "Sadko" - the name of the character in one of the Russian ballads. However, as demonstrated by the images above, the products sold in the shop are produced in Germany by the so-called "Monolith gruppe"<sup>83</sup>, which unites such sale lines as "Steinhauer" (see image 31), "Mix Markt", etc. and which markets itself as a distributor of "East European specialties" to "Russian Germans as

<sup>83</sup>< <http://www.monolith-gruppe.eu/index.php/en/vertriebsmarken.html>>

well as emigrants from the Eastern Europe states”. Thus, what is being referred by the actors as “our” food sold in the “Russian” shop and what is advertised on the main website of Monolith Gruppe as “original Russian sweets and drinks [...] meat, sausage and fish” is in fact an outcome of complex and extensive transnational connecting: the products are produced in response to the consumer demand and target migrant communities; manufacturing and distributing of these products relies on and actively employs transnational ties between those companies, which provide raw materials, which process them and which market final products as well as between shop owners and their customers.

Thus, the products, invoked in the construction and re-construction of *national* categories (through the references to the “Russian shop” and “Russian food”) become produced, distributed and consumed *transnationally* which is reflected in the discursive inscriptions included on the packaging of the products in focus. As illustrated by images 30 and 31, apart from the names of the products in Russian: “Томаты по-кавказски” (“Tomatoes, Caucasian recipe”), “Огурцы малосольные” (“Salted Cucumbers, low on salt”) the labels on the products also display translation of these names into German: “Eingelegte tomaten kawkasischer art”, “Eingelegte würzige gurken” as well as transliteration of those names with the symbols of Latin alphabet: “Zakuska” – transliteration from Russian “Закуска” (“Snack, appetizer”), “Malsoslnie” – transliteration from Russian “Малосольные” (“lightly salted products”).

The variety of discursive inscriptions used to denote the same material agency are constructed through a variety of linguistic resources (Latin and Cyrillic alphabet, Russian and German languages) and at the intersection between multiple linguistic codes (transliteration). This illustrate how discursive components of the products, referred to by the producers, by the shop owner and by the consumers as “original” Russian and “our” food, incorporate different *semiotic landscapes* (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010) – diverse sets of dialectically related symbolic systems of signifiers (the enumerated above linguistic resources), context of human actions (prandial practices) and of socio-political activities (diverse national contexts with which the aforementioned linguistic repertoires are associated) - to target consumers across national borders. This also exhibits how transnational commercial, industrial and economic arrangements rely in their practices on national categories, how these categories become accomplished transnationally and how this complex and continuous networking of national and transnational points of reference, acts and arrangements has

disseminated into the established economic and trading practices producing new routines and methods, which have already settled as accepted and recognizable aspects of transnational living.

The next analytical segment reveals the actors' awareness of the porous character of 'national' – 'transnational' frames of reference as well as demonstrating how the ambivalence of these frames makes the construction of such categories as "our" and "Russian" and the construction of belongingness to these categories even more complex and nuanced.

*Transcript 4: Conversation during Rusmam "without children get-together",  
September 6, 2008*

- |            |                                                                           |
|------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Z:      | I am asking her <sup>84</sup> [tvorog] / is it Russian / ?                |
| 2.         | WHICH Russian?                                                            |
| 3.         | or from WHERE?                                                            |
| 4.         | She says storage house.                                                   |
| 5.         | I want to know the address (laughs) where it is FROM.                     |
| 6. Nadja:  | OF COURSE it is produced in Germany.                                      |
| 7.         | It has to be produced in the European Union I don't know why they         |
| 8.         | stopped producing in the //Baltic countries//                             |
| 9. Tanja:  | // < in Poland> // some of it is produced.                                |
| 10. Nadja: | <<Yes in Poland>> I just don't understand why they don't produce more     |
| 11.        | in the Baltic countries because it is allowed now they are in the EU now. |
| 12. Z:     | Fatima by the way is bringing some of the products from Poland..          |
| 13.        | IT SAYS SO \ POLAND \ .                                                   |

The conversation represented in Transcript 4 revolves around the topic of tvorog and Z's recent experience connected to buying this food product in one of the "Russian" shops. The first line, therefore, comprises a quote of the question that Z posed to the owner of the shop: "I am asking her tvorog is it Russian?" As is visible in the cited utterance, the speaker's inquiry is aimed at clarifying whether tvorog that she intends to purchase is Russian. The significance of getting this information for Z is indicated by the rising tone with which she pronounces both elements of the question –

<sup>84</sup> The owner of the shop



‘tvorog’ and ‘Russian’. The aforementioned line conveys the topic of the utterance and fulfils adequately its function – posing a question. However, after a short pause, this actionally and topically sufficient conversational unit becomes extended with two more lines each of them containing an accentuated specification of what meaning Z assigns to the discursive category of being Russian: “Which Russian?” (Line 2) and “From where” (Line 3), with vocal emphasis on ‘which’ and ‘where’. The fact that the actor finds it necessary to spell out (in the “Russian” shop) what “Russian” means reveals her awareness of the ambiguity of the category of Russianness in the context of this specific practice and that she anticipates that the products referred to in association with this practice as “Russian”, originate in somewhere other than Russia (“where”, Line 3) and that there are multiple versions of them (“which”, Line 2). In Line 4, the speaker shifts again to the citation format – now of the shop owner’s answer: “she says storage house”. The neutral, prosodically and tone-unmarked way in which the utterance is pronounced indicates that the owner of the shop or/and the speaker are familiar with this specific form of Russianness (something that comes from an unspecified storage house) and that they are neither surprised nor disturbed by this fact. The next line (5), containing a request to know where the storage house is situated, is interrupted by the speakers laughter, which acknowledges the somewhat irrational persistence of her attempts to pin down the “belonging” of the product.

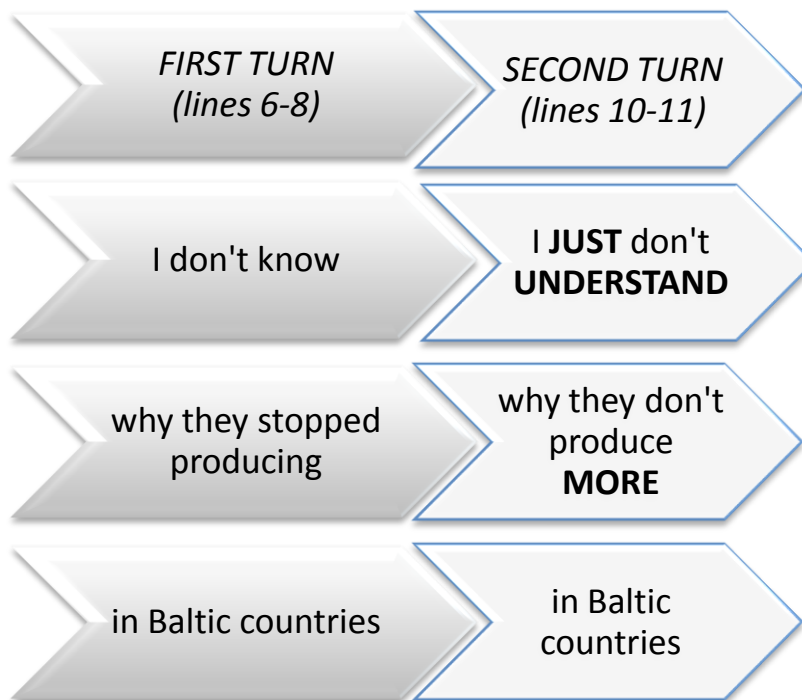
The rest of the conversation enacted by two other members present at Rusmam meeting in focus, confirms the account made by Z. Thus, in line 6 Nadja begins by stating: “Of course they are produced in Germany” with a particular emphasis on “of course”, which stresses the triviality of this knowledge. It is also thorough this that she positions herself as an expert on the subject. The latter conversational action is amplified in the next two lines (7 and 8) in which Nadja continues to speak from the position of having exclusive inside knowledge: “It has to be produced in EU”, “I don’t know why they stopped producing in Baltic countries”. As demonstrated in the transcript at the end of this last line (8), Nadja’s remark is interrupted by another interactant, Tanja (Line 9), who inserts: “In Poland some of it is produced” so that part of the line (“In Poland”) overlaps with a part of a previous turn “Baltic countries”. This interruption, accomplished in a high tempo and overlapping the part of the previous utterance, actionally aims at attempting to take over the expert position in the conversation which has been dominated by the previous speaker. Topically, Lines 6-9 verify multiplicity of meanings, placial, political and economic frames that are involved in the production of “Russian” food as well as emphasizing the significance of these numerous and divers links to the actors’ everyday experiences.

Further in the conversation, Nadja quickly regains the position of the leading and knowing speaker. In Line 10 she starts by inserting in a fast tempo and with flat intonation: “Yes in Poland”, which discursively frames this confirmation of the previous conversational line as a formal matter of conversational courtesy. With no distinguishable pause she then resumes and completes in the same conversational turn the utterance interrupted by Tanja. In Line 12, however, speaker Z picks up the conversational pair initiated by Tanja and responds to its topic (“Russian” products being produced in Poland) by confirming it through the reference to another site of actors’ engagement involved in my ethnography, the “Russian” shop in Aalborg: “Fatima by the way is bringing some of the products from Poland”. This casual (“by the way”) neutrally pronounced remark stands in contrast to the following line (13), in which Z clarifies with high accentuation intensified by falling after each element tone: “It says so Poland”.

The action, which the participants of the conversation presented in the transcript above accomplish in Lines 6-13, consists in answering the question, which was introduced by speaker Z in the first line and which remained unanswered by the original receiver of the question (the owner of the shop). More specifically, participants’ reactions demonstrated in Lines 6-13 aim at clarifying one particular aspect of Russianness invoked and contested by the speaker – ‘where’. In answering the aforementioned question the actors name such national, geographical and political spaces as Poland, Germany, the Baltic countries and the EU. What is particularly interesting, however, is that in doing so they do not merely enumerate the aforementioned places associated with the transnationally accomplished category “Russian”, but they also produce subtle discursive evaluations in relation to them and implicitly rearrange them hierarchically.

For instance, by repeatedly and insistently wondering across two conversational turns “I don’t know why they stopped producing in the Baltic countries” (Lines 7, 8) and “I just don’t understand why they don’t produce more in the Baltic countries” (Line 10), Nadja expresses her regret regarding the lack of “Russian” products produced in Baltic countries. This regret is discursively constructed with the intensity progressing from one turn to another, emphasising Nadja’s personal and emotional involvement in the issue (see Figure 18).

Figure 18: Intensification of Discursive Effect, Transcript 2



In articulating her displeasure with the current situation, i.e. “Russian” food products being manufactured in Germany, EU and Poland, the speaker assigns the aforementioned *wheres* in the production of Russianness to the position inferior to the favourable “Russian” products, i.e. “from the Baltic countries”. The data transcript examined below represents an interactional event which reproduces and verifies the evaluative work identified above. Transcript 5 captures a fragment of the conversation between the owner of the “Russian” shop, “Sadko”, in Aalborg, Fatima, and the researcher. In the fragment, Fatima describes the assortment of goods in her shop.

*Transcript 5: Interview with Fatima, the Owner of Sadko, September 24, 2008*

- |                |                                                                                       |
|----------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Fatima:     | I am largely buying such products..these goods are slightly more                      |
| 2.             | expensive but I am buying..exactly not Polish [zephyr] <sup>85</sup> but the one from |
| 3.             | [Lime] <sup>86</sup> .. the ones that we USED to eat.                                 |
| 4.             | Some sweets are going to arrive soon hmm [Veche]..[Vechernaja Moskva]                 |
| 5.             | that is..                                                                             |
| 6.             | I am not taking the Polish ones.                                                      |
| 7. Researcher: | WHY? What are they worse?                                                             |
| 8. Fatima:     | <<There is more soya in the chocolate>>.. I am buying more                            |
| 9.             | expensive products but more natural                                                   |

As illustrated in the transcript, categorizing particular transnational nexuses (e.g. “Russian food” produced in Poland purchased in Germany and distributed in Denmark, etc.) through assigning to them specific favourable or negative features identified in relation to the previous conversational event is continued in the interaction in focus already from its first lines. In Lines 1-3, Fatima identifies *which* Russian products she is buying for her shop. In doing so she juxtaposes goods produced in Poland (for instance, zephyr, Line 2) to those which she buys and which are produced by Lime (Lithuanian food company). Within the framework of this dichotomy, goods manufactured by Lime become constructed as most authentic products that live up to the standard set by the experiences of the supposedly shared past “the ones that we used to eat” (Line 3). The significance of the aforementioned criterion is emphasized by the accentuation of “used to”. In addition, by emphasizing high monetary value of the products in focus (“slightly more expensive”, Line 1, 2), Fatima indicates their good quality by invoking the questionable yet common perception that high quality follows high prices. Lines 1-3 also illustrate that in classing transnational relations, Fatima mobilizes the same mechanisms of category and memory work that I have identified earlier in the analysis in relation to the examination of construction of familiar, shared categories. Namely, in her

<sup>85</sup> “Zephyr” (from Russian “зефир”) – Meringues

<sup>86</sup> The name of the Lithuanian food company

account, Fatima articulates familiar points of reference and her belonging to them through the references to the shared past (“we used to eat”).

The aforementioned favourable referencing to the goods produced in the Baltic countries is accomplished in explicit contrast to the ones, manufactured in Poland: “exactly not Polish [...] but [...]”. Through such categorical negation the speaker implicitly strips the latter type of goods of all the positive attributes assigned to the opposed category – i.e. “Russian” food produced in Poland is *not* expensive and *not* like the food “we used to eat”. The aforementioned evaluation of products from Poland becomes reaffirmed in Line 6: “I am not taking the Polish ones”, which also functions as an additional clarification made to eliminate any potential confusion with regard to *which* Russian goods Fatima buys for her shop, the confusion that might have undermined or put into question her business skills, standards and morals.

The uncompromising character of the latter formulation has motivated me to ask about the reasons for such a firm decision (Line 7) and for the negative evaluation of Polish goods, which I have sensed in Fatima’s description (“Why? “What are they worse”). Fatima’s response on my questions is prompt and pronounced in a fast tempo, which marks what she says as certain and evident. Within her reply she attributes yet another feature to the set of transnational relations associated with the aspect of prandial practice in focus - “more natural” (Line 9) which positions these relations within the framework of the organic and health-care discourse also identified in the previous analytical segments. In relation to this attribution, the more expensive, “the ones we used to eat” products, manufactured in Baltic countries and selected by Fatima for her shop, are assigned the status of “more natural”, while “Russian” products that are placed lower in hierarchy of “original” and “authentic” Russianness are described as less wholesome: “There is more soya in the chocolate” (Line 8). As mentioned above, this is done from the interactional position of a knowing, confident insider, which constructs this disposition as given and self-evident.

The analysis of Transcripts 4 and 5 demonstrates once again how in the course of everyday interaction, the actors construct complex interdiscursive chains that link together normative regimes (such as evaluations of particular food products), particular discourses (such as discourses of health-care, organic, “natural”, back-to-basics living and prandial discourses) and sets of knowledges (such as knowledge related to the process of industrial production of particular food products “there is more soya in the chocolate”, Transcript 5, Line 8, or expertise on European policies “of course it is

produced in Germany. It has to be produced in the European Union”, Transcript 4, Lines 6, 7, “it is allowed now they are in EU now”, Transcript 4, Line 11). In addition, it makes visible how these interdiscursive constructions produced and negotiated through membership categorizations (e.g. “we”) and memory work (e.g. “the ones that we USED to eat”) and in relation to national associations (e.g. Russian, Polish, German, etc.) become mobilized to make sense of and to organize the relations that are *transnational* and that involve multiple aspects of realities - economic, social and political (such as European regulations concerning export and import of food products or exporting and importing these products in relation to running the “Russian” shop in Denmark). That is, the analytical segments in focus make visible the acts of transdiscursivity – mediated actions in which the actors produce and mobilize via diverse symbolic means complex discursive and interdiscursive constructions to organize and to make sense of associations which transgress the interaction orders, discursive frameworks and practices within which these constructions are produced.

Thus, within the framework of this section, I continued to examine the use of semiotic resources and the elements of conversational organization through which the actors invoke, challenge, ascribe to, make relevant and make available for association with or disassociation from diverse accounts, experiences and meanings, i.e. the making of collections through which diverse membership categories (labelled “our”, “their”, “Russian”, etc.) are constructed and invoked. Just as the analysis made earlier in this chapter, the analytical examinations carried out in this section demonstrate that the aforementioned categories, which represent and make recognizable familiar and shared points of reference, are not “protected against induction” (Sacks, 1992, p. 336). Moreover, by examining discursive mechanisms (such as attributing of favourable and negative features, ascribing to particular categories, memory work, etc.) through which the actors enact membership categorizations, I made it visible that in collecting and recollecting, ascribing to and re-ascribing from these categories, the actors associate the items of which they are composed (discursivities and materialities, experiences and accounts) with the sets of relations and practices relevant to their immediate living situations and current concerns, thereby not only compressing temporal and spatial distance between these nodes of their life stories but also crossing symbolically geographical, political and cultural borders of national belongingness.

By moving analytically across multiple interactional events registered in my data archive and across multiple sites of actors’ engagement involved in my ethnography, I was following intersemiotic and

interdiscursive connecting, which the actors accomplish in the course of their interaction. Moreover, in making visible and unpacking complex interdiscursive constructs produced in the course of this connecting and intertwining multiple normative regimes, sets of knowledges and discursive frameworks, I also demonstrated how these constructs become involved in the acts of transdiscursivity, i.e. mobilized to organize and make sense of realities outside interactional contexts and practices within which they were produced, and how these acts of transdiscursivity participate in the construction of transnational networking. That is - through the analytical examination described above, I demonstrated how the organizational function of discursive practices becomes realized in arranging and re-arranging transnational associations at the interface between social, cultural, economic and political aspects of realities and how this transnational networking affects the practices that mediate these realities (for instance, commercial practices) and genres on which these practices rely (for instance, promotional genres).

As I was making tangible social and discursive aspects of transnational networking through the analytical work outlined above as well as throughout all the analysis carried out so far in this chapter, I was also tracking and examining the ways through which the actors position themselves and each other in relation to the categories that they construct and make relevant in the course of their everyday actions and interactions and in association with the numerous and trivial aspects of their daily routines and practices (such as prandial practices). In the next section of this chapter, I shall put the analytical focus on these acts of identification and “actions on the other” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 28) by focusing on the discursive mechanisms through which these acts become accomplished. Moreover, I shall make visible how these methods of identity construction become enacted by the members in relation to transnational networking with which my project is concerned.

### **III. TRANSNATIONAL NETWORKING AND IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION**

As pointed out above, one of the significant aspects of representing, categorizing and organizing the realities in which the actors engage in the course of their everyday practices and which I identified and described in the analysis carried out in this chapter involves the mechanisms of interdiscursivity and transdiscursivity. Within the framework of my investigation, I explore how the actors mobilize these mechanisms in association with those actions, social arrangements, discourses and practices that circulated across the nexus of practice, which I navigated in the course of my ethnographic



work described in Chapter 4, such as prandial discourse and food-related practises. One of the analytical observations that I made in the course of this examination concerns complex and dynamic interdiscursive chains which the actors construct and invoke to categorize and organize the realities and which tie up diverse aspects of prandial discourse and practices with the discourses of health-care, organic and “natural” living and normative regimes. These interdiscursive constructs represent one of the nodes at which food-related discourse intersect with another discourse circulating through the sites of actors’ engagement and interaction orders captured by my ethnography – discourse of child-care - linking the actions and routines which enable prandial and child-rearing practices.

One of the most challenging aspects of parenting involves the responsibility of making decisions on behalf of one’s child. Awareness of the impact and potential implications that each of many decisions, which we make every day for our children, might have on their health, emotional well-being, educational and career opportunities, etc. makes the task of making these decisions mentally, emotionally and morally demanding. As I identified in following the actors’ interaction, among these diverse parenting decisions, the decisions regarding the choice of food, eating routines are the ones with which the participants of this interaction appear to be preoccupied continuously and intensely.

Some of the decisions regarding food are made subconsciously, unrecognised and unnoticed by the parents caught up in the high tempo of normalised daily routines; others are the result of a mindful, acknowledged and rational process. All of them, however, are rooted in knowledge, or rather – in culturally inherited, socially acquired, disseminated and constructed through various forms of media, *sets of knowledges*, which parents appropriate and develop in the course of their lives. The already complex process of translating these sets of knowledges into numerous, daily choices regarding children’s’ food practices becomes even more complicated when the knowledge, with which parents operate in this process, is embedded within multiple and diverse cultural, national and linguistic contexts. As the analysis carried out earlier in this chapter in relation to the examination of categorical work as well the preliminary analysis represented in Chapter 4 demonstrates, the familiar, normalised sets of knowledges and practices, on which the actors would most likely fall back in the context of their home countries, at least in making some of the decisions, become challenged, in their new living situations, by a mere presence of the visible and default cultural alternative to which the otherized familiar becomes juxtaposed. As a result, diverse aspects

of prandial practices as well as children's eating routines and other choices in relation to raising children become revisited and scrutinized by the actors themselves as well as by those people with whom they interact in the course of their daily lives.

As demonstrated earlier in this chapter, the actors are constantly engaged in evaluating and justifying their food-related choices, for instance, the attribution of favourable or negative features to diverse aspects of prandial practices addressed above (accounts, experiences, discursive descriptions, etc.) through which these practices become categorized as less or more "real", "pure", "wholesome", "natural", etc and through which the actors articulate their attachments to or disattachments from the categories wrapped up by these accounts and experiences. However, these negotiations and, thereby representing and relating to the diverse memberships invoked in these negotiations, are not always initiated by the actors. Often they are forced to account for their decisions and actions challenged by the family, friends or the gate-keepers and representatives of national and statal institutions. As illustrated by an example below, such confrontations can be particularly tense when the choices made by the actors diverge from the culturally accepted norms and especially when these choices involve children.

*Transcript 6: Conversation during Rusmam Playgroup Meeting, September 21, 2008*

- |           |                                                                                            |
|-----------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Katja: | She <sup>87</sup> says to me with such CONTEMPT.. like how can it be that he <sup>88</sup> |
| 2.        | doesn't eat bread?..                                                                       |
| 3.        | THIS IS \ how it is I say..                                                                |
| 4.        | he eats NORMAL food.                                                                       |
| 5.        | She is like FOR EXAMPLE?                                                                   |
| 6.        | SALMON I say ..                                                                            |
| 7.        | red caviar with big spoons.                                                                |
| 8. Many:  | (laughing, nodding)                                                                        |

**Image 32: Rusmam Playgroup Meeting: Katja and her son getting ready for lunch, September 21, 2008**



The extract above comprises an account made by Katja, one of the members of Rusmam, regarding the experience at her son's day-

<sup>87</sup> Danish day-carer

<sup>88</sup> Katja's son

care centre. The day-carer has confronted Katja about her son's eating habits, more specifically, the fact that he, at the age of 7 months, does not eat rye bread, which is the most essential product in children's diet in Danish day-care institutions. The source of the tension resides in fact that like any other aspects of child-rearing practices, at what age, with what products and in what form children are introduced to solid food is culturally-relative. Katja, who had moved to Denmark from Russia just a couple of years before she had her first child, had started her son on solid food by introducing him to different kinds of porridge, soups, vegetables as well as chicken and fish avoiding rye bread, wheat products and pork until her son turns one year. This feeding regime is what is considered both "normal" (as Katja expresses it herself in the excerpt above, Line 4) and the most well-balanced nutritional diet (that is why Katja brings up caviar and salmon as an example of vitamin-rich food that her son is eating at home) in the context of her home country, among many of her Russian-speaking friends in Denmark, by her parents and family in Russia whom she consults regularly regarding her parenting practices, etc. That is why the choice of the eating routine for her son had been both obvious and unproblematic for Katja until it clashed with the prandial practices in the institutional child-care system in Denmark.

Katja's experience exemplifies what Dennis Day terms "subtle ethnification" – a discursive mechanism of an "everyday nature", through which one's ethnic or national membership is picket out in contrast to the others' to cast doubt on one's capacities to pursue the activity at hand (Day, 1998, pp. 151, 167) (in this case – parenting). As Katja accounts in the first line of the conversation in focus, such an implicit ethnification was initiated by her son's day-carer through the following question: "How can it be that he doesn't eat bread?". As Emanuel Schegloff points out (2007), there are two ways of analysing an utterance. One is through examining its *topicality*, i.e. what it is *about*; another – by looking at it with respect to an *action*, i.e. what it is *doing* (p. 1). Now, if we look at the question cited by Katja in Line 1 in terms of its topic, then what the day-carer inquires is why Katja's son does not eat bread. However, this is not *how* the question was allegedly asked. If we assume that the only message that the day-carer intended to get through is her own interest in the reason for the absence of bread in the boy's diet, then the most communicatively effective way of conveying this message (the quickest, shortest, requiring minimum linguistic resources mode) would be to ask: "Why does he not eat bread?". Yet, the day-carer's formulation (as it was reproduced by Katja) is more complex than this. The question is comprised of two parts. The first part "How can it be that" and the following part "he doesn't eat bread". The interactional purpose of the message – the content of the inquiry, its *topic* – is conveyed by the second part. However, it is

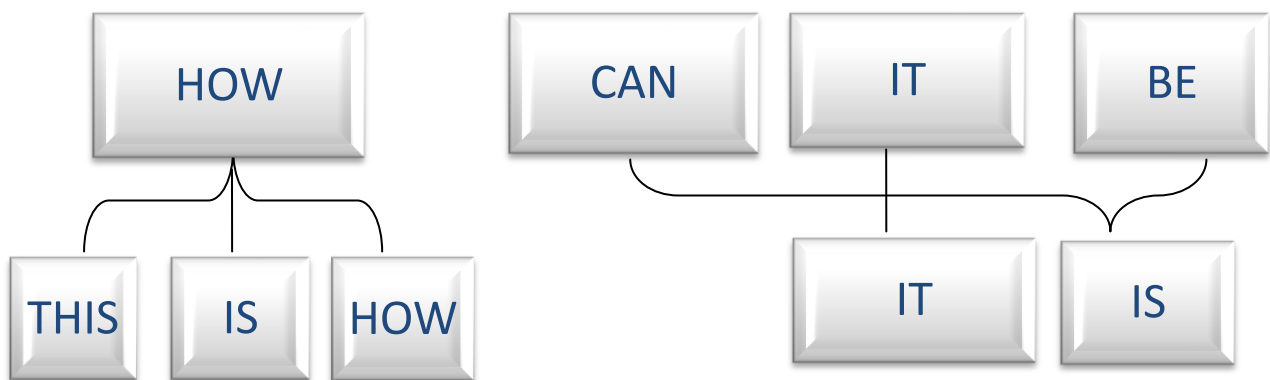
the first part of the question which conveys the implicit, covert message of the utterance. It is the first part of the question, through which the *action* of the conversational line is accomplished. This action consists in making Katja's membership (being a migrant) and the lack of membership (not being Danish) relevant for the task at hand – providing her child with the “right”, “healthy”, “normal” food, i.e. the task of doing being a good parent. “How can it be” placed by the speaker in the first, accentuated, part of the utterance changes the message of the conversational line tremendously. It signals an excessive, over-emphasised wondering, which in relation to the triviality of the topic (an inquiry about child's eating habits) can be interpreted by the receiver of the message as a provocation, initiation of a confrontation. This is intensified by what Katja describes as “such contempt”, which in the described conversational event could have been realized through accentuated tone or prosody or through non-verbal behaviour, such as gaze or gestures.

It should be noted that I am perfectly aware of the fact that what I am dealing with in the current analysis is not the interaction between Katja and the day-carer itself, but Katja's personal, probably biased and mostly likely subjective interpretation of this interaction. Both the citation of the day-carer's question and what Katja perceived as contempt in the way this question was pronounced are elements of this interpretation. However, it is exactly this perception of the interactional encounter, which is being both represented and constructed in the conversational event above, and not the illusive “objective” reality of what has happened, that forms Katja's everyday actions, her understanding of a new living context and her memberships within it. Moreover, it is not the encounter itself but its discursive representation that is made available through the conversation to the other members of Rusmam and the Russian school, becoming a resource on which *they* would draw in the construction of their memberships.

Katja's perception of the accounted experience is indicated not only through the evaluative discursive element present in the first line: “with such contempt”, which is stressed by accentuation of the word ‘contempt’ as well as by the following short pause that separates this evaluation from its account. It is also conveyed through a repeated usage of a pro-form word - pronoun ‘she’ – in referring to the day-carer (line1, line 5). Functionally, the use of the pronoun in substitution for a personal name or a work title is legitimate, as the interactional context of the narrated encounter (its place, time and people involved) was presented earlier in the conversation, making it clear to the other participants who the ‘she’ is. Nevertheless, such a persistent neglect to address the main character of the narrated story by name (or for instance job function) defies the unspoken norms of

politeness in Russian language, signalling a dismissive attitude towards the invoked person. This discursive effect is also produced in Line 3 when after a short pause separating Katja's account of the day-carer's question from her response to it, Katja quotes herself: "This is how it is I say". The line contains both the description of what was said (the topic) and of how it was said (the action). Both elements of the utterance convey a resolute and displeased reaction. In the first part of the line: "This is how it is" this reaction is discursively expressed through the accentuation and downfalling intonation of "this is". While in the second part of the line it is realised through the firmness and directness of "I say" followed by a short pause emphasising the significance of Katja's answer to the day-carer and giving the other participants a chance to evaluate this answer. This line is a symmetrical pair to the first part of the day-carer's question carrying out the provoking action, which is illustrated by Figure 19:

**Figure 19: Symmetrical Organisation of a Conversational Pair in Transcript 4**



Typically, Katja's reply is completely non-informative. It carries no facts or information that might be considered an answer to the day-carer's question. In terms of action, however, this line conveys an important message – through its obvious symmetry with the previous utterance (demonstrated in the diagram above) it signals that Katja's is not going to shy away from the initiated confrontation. Katja's aggravation visible in the conversational features described above clearly indicates that she

has picked up on the subtle ethnification initiated by the day-carer, which was wrapped up in the prandial aspect of child-rearing practices. It also demonstrates that she is ready to resist being constructed as a parent through covert invoking of her migrant status.

This resistance is directed against both being categorised as a parent through orientation to nationality as well as against questioning her ability to fulfil adequately the activity bound to this category (that is feeding her child) on the basis of the national belonging. Lines 4, 5, 6 and 7 of the transcript demonstrate how such resistance becomes accomplished discursively. As illustrated in Line 1, the day-carer never actually labels the category in relation to which she positions Katja as an outsider or the other. Instead, the membership category is indicated through an associated with it normalized collection of discursive features and activities, which are framed by the intersection of child-rearing and prandial practices. This categorizational strategy has already been made visible earlier in this chapter in relation to the negotiation of category ‘our’ belonging to which in the course of computer-mediated interaction on Rusforum is constructed through ascribing to or resisting particular food-related practices, avowing or disavowing to material and discursive attributes, such as food products, their names and material form and visual presentation, etc (see for instance, Figure 14). Katja’s resistance to the fact that her national identity or migrant status are being made relevant in relation to her parenting competences matches the aforementioned categorizational strategy employed by the day-carer – that is instead of undermining the category, she undermines those prandial practices and discourses that the day-carer puts forward in association with it (rye-bread being most suitable food for children). This is carried out by emphasising the ambiguity of what ‘normal’ food is - firstly, by stating that there is alternative understanding of it in Line 4, where the emphasis on “normal” puts it in contrast to the references to food made earlier in the conversation. Thereby eating bread (Line 1) becomes juxtaposed to eating “normal food”, which challenges the dominant-deviant disposition in relation to prandial and child-rearing practices. This provocative discursive action is followed by a sarcastic specification of what “normal food” is. The aforementioned sarcastic effect is achieved through the allusion to the reductive, stereotyped formulations of Russianness that often operate with the discursive and iconographic images of caviar, matryoshkas, vodka etc. By naming salmon and “red caviar with big spoons” (Lines 6, 7) in answering the day-carer’s request to give an example of “normal food” (Line 5) Katja confirms to the aforementioned national stereotype amplifying it to the degree when it becomes grotesque (feeding a small child with big spoons of red caviar). In doing so she picks up the subtle, covert ascription to national category initiated by the day-carer and continues this

categorization in such an exaggerated and provocative manner that it subverts the ascriptional process.

The analytical segment in focus unpacks and makes available for discussion the discursive and social mechanisms that are at work in accomplishing both the acts of identification and ethnification and the resistance to these acts. These mechanisms, in their subtlety, in their everyday nature and in the microscopic details of semiotic and conversational organization on which they rely, might not have been visible in a different analytical prism or might not have been remarkable enough for it. However, the current examination, which mobilizes the multimodal, social-semiotic approach to discourse analysis specifically designed to capture these minuscule and trivial interactional details and their involvement in meaning and realities making, reveals how identities are being constructed and resisted through the associating with and de-associating from membership categories that both takes place across national borders and transgresses the matters of national belonging by being networked with other aspects of identity construction, such as doing being a parent. Moreover, further analysis demonstrates that the identified mechanisms of identity construction are both recognized and reproduced by the actors, i.e. that they are durable aspects of identity making and re-making in relation to transnational living.

For instance, at the end of the examined conversational event, Katja's account becomes awarded by the other participants with the laughter of recognition and the nodes of approval. Through the aforementioned elements of non-verbal behaviour the other participants affirm Katja's narration concurring with both her interpretation of it and her reaction. Similarly, the transcripts below demonstrate that the actors are familiar with the discursive mechanism, displayed and examined above, through which national category, migrant identities and otherness are made implicitly relevant in everyday practices and in relation to transnational living. Moreover, these interactional excerpts vividly show that the actors are not only aware of this mechanism but also skilfully employ it in discursive articulation of the way they organise their transnational lives.



*Transcript 7: Conversation during Rusmam Playgroup  
Meeting, October 5, 2008*

- |                |                           |
|----------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Researcher: | And what are YOU eating?  |
| 2. T:          | Mackerel of course..      |
| 3.             | GOOD \ HEALTHY \ mackerel |



**Image 33: Rusmam Playgroup Meeting: T and her son having lunch, October 5, 2008**

*Transcript 8: Conversation during Rusmam playgroup meeting, October 5, 2008*

- |           |                                                          |
|-----------|----------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Nadja: | < Is anybody hungry > ?..                                |
| 2.        | < Here is liver pâté >..                                 |
| 3.        | Good liver pâté the secret is to put it in a THICK layer |
| 4. Many:  | (laugh)                                                  |

The transcripts above comprise the situation that is reverse of the one discussed in the previously conversational extract. As opposed to the interaction between Katja and her son's day-carer, where a specific set of prandial practices is invoked to make relevant a category of the migrant other, food-related discursive descriptions produced by the actors in the course of interaction presented by Transcripts 7 and 8 wrap up covert references to the default national category, i.e. Danish. Transcript 7 represents a short conversational exchange between the researcher and one of the members of Rusmam during the lunch break. While getting lunch ready for my own daughter, I noticed that T's son who sat near me had already started eating his lunch. My question to T about the food, which her son ate, derived from the aforementioned interactional context and was a part of one of those multiple spontaneous, informal and trivial conversations that took place around the table at lunch time. As illustrated by the transcript, T's reply consists of two lines separated by a short pause. Line 2 ("Mackerel of course") answers my question and in terms of topicality of the

conversational exchange is informatively sufficient. However, after a short pause that closes the ‘answer-question’ conversational pair, T extends her response with “Good, healthy mackerel” (Line 3). In this line, T elaborates on her answer by adding two evaluative attributes to the described food product. These attributes are accentuated in the speech by the downfall intonation. This accentuation of “good” and “healthy” in Line 3 combined with the addition of “of course” in Line 2 are discursive mechanisms through which T produces an ironic and subtle reference to doing being Danish. This reference is made by invoking the normative standards of the so-called “lunch culture”<sup>89</sup> dominating both private and institutional food-related practices in Denmark, within which mackerel figures as a popular product. Just as in the previously-addressed conversational event, what is being made visible and challenged through the aforementioned ironic references is the arbitrary nature of such features as “healthy”, “good” assigned to particular categories and aspects of realities (such as particular prandial and child-rearing practices) as wells as prescriptive normativity, which these practices acquire when they become categorized through the repeated associations with the aforementioned features.

The interaction represented in Transcript 8 embodies a similar discursive strategy. Another member of Rusmam, Nadja, while preparing lunch for her son turns around and invites the other members present at the table to help themselves to some of the extra sandwiches that she brought to the meeting (Lines 1 and 2 “Is anybody hungry?”, “Here is liver pâté”). These first two lines pronounced in a loud tone accomplish the action of the utterance – invitation to share the food. However, just as in the previous conversational extract, another line is added to the already functionally adequate utterance. This line (3) contains an elaborating discursive description of the invoked food product “Good liver pâté the secret is to put it in a THICK layer”. Similarly to the interactional segment discussed above, this description has powerful ironic undertones realised through adding an attribute “good” and a mocking “serving suggestion” – “the secret is to put it in a thick layer” with a stress on the attribute “thick”. The aforementioned line is produced in relation to the first utterance, however, with a different actional aim, which consists in making relevant the category of being Danish in relation to child-rearing practices through invoking associated with this category material, (“liver pâté”) and discursive (“good liver pâté”) features and category-bound activities (such as preparing liver pâté sandwiches for children’s’ lunch boxes).

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<sup>89</sup>From Danish “madpakke kultur”

The analysis of the encounters represented in Transcripts 6,7 and 8 demonstrates how food-related practices become accentuated in the actors' interaction as one of the central aspects of parenting, how in the context of transnational living this aspect becomes defined in terms of multiple national and cultural loyalties, both conflicting and complementing, and how in doing so it ceases to be solely the matter of private choice or personal convictions and becomes exposed to public, institutional and statal scrutinizing, monitoring and evaluating. Moreover, the examination of the conversational sequences in focus uncovers how in relation to the aforementioned everyday practices (such as feeding children) these packed and involved national and cultural attachments are being formulated, ascribed to and resisted beyond points of references conventionally thought of as comprising these categories and accomplishing belongingness to them (such as citizenship, geographical living place, place of birth, etc.). These analytical segments make visible how national and cultural dimensions of identity become invoked and their symbolic borders are being crossed through the acts of associating with and disassociating from other identity categories (such as doing being a parent). In addition, they reveal how through and within this identity work particular aspects of realities, particular public and institutional regimes (such as feeding routines in the day-care institutions) are being organized by the actors, i.e. how particular sets of actions and methods of acting become prescribed as "normal", "healthy", etc. and how this prescriptive normativity is being highlighted, contested and re-negotiated.

What the identity work, which I made visible and examined in this chapter, shows no evidence of is the actors being 'lost' nomads *stuck* in between two sets of pre-formulated, complete and closed cultural meanings and points of references, as it is construed in the writings which "seek to understand transnational developments through what are essentially categories of the national imaginary" (Aksoy & Robins, 2003, pp. 89,90) . The analysis, however, does show how the actors are being *positioned* as 'lost' outsiders as well as it shows how this positioning is *resisted* by them. In enacting and resisting the social and discursive mechanisms of making and relating to diverse identity categories and aspects of realities, which I mapped out in the course of the analysis (such as inter- and trans-discursivity, memory work, subtle ethnification (Day, 1998), ascription of favourable and negative features and category-bound activities, etc.) the actors figure as an active, reflective and critical agency who through an on-going and complex construction of discursive, social, material, semiotic and placial ties, rearrange and reframe the established meanings to produce new discursive, interactional, normative and societal orders.

The further analysis demonstrates that this transnational connecting and its mechanisms has already settled in as a routine element of the actors' daily lives and as an established part of their transnational conduct, in which they engage in a habitual manner and which they discursively construct as a natural and accepted aspect of their lives. This is illustrated by the transcript below, which represents a segment of a conversation that took place during one of the Rusmam meetings. The segment features Z, a Rusmam member who came to Denmark from Kazakhstan, telling the rest of the group about her most recent successful attempt to acquire for her son a "real" Russian food product.

*Transcript 9: Conversation during Rusmam Playgroup Meeting, November 16, 2008*

- |                |                                                                       |
|----------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Z:          | <<Listen listen>> I bought this Russian soup for children yesterday   |
| 2.             | you KNOW with chicken <red> hen its name is..                         |
| 3. Researcher: | Where did you buy it?                                                 |
| 4. Z:          | In the Asian shop OF COURSE << it is owned by an Afghan couple        |
| 5.             | she speaks Russian a little>>..                                       |
| 6.             | << the soup is Polish of course>> but it tastes like in my childhood. |



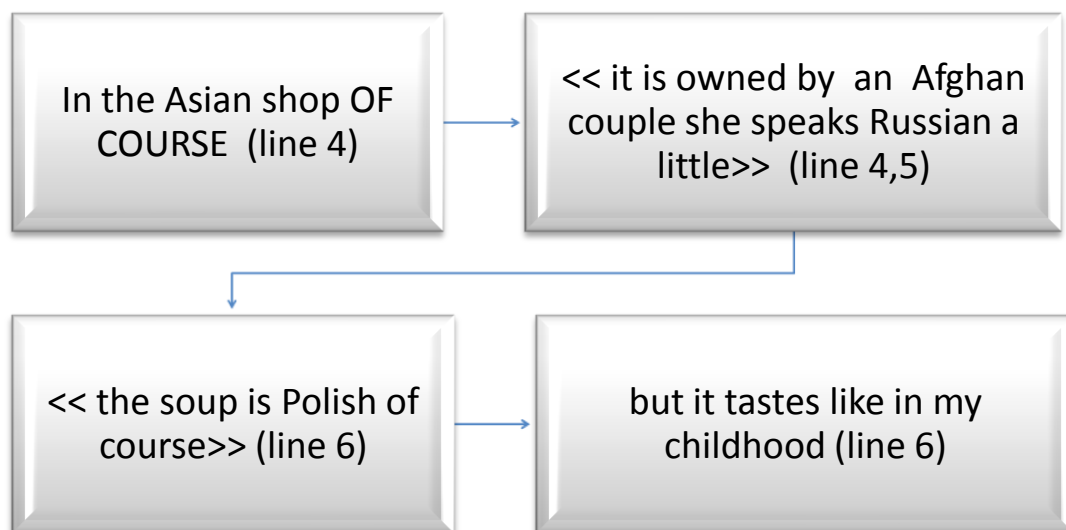
The account of the experience begins in the first line of the data segment and is introduced by a repeated in fast tempo "listen", which immediately marks the upcoming conversational unit as the one having a high novelty and interest factor to the listeners, which summons their attention to the following information and which reveals the speaker's excitement in relation to it. This emotionally-charged introduction is followed by the actual topic of the conversation, which involves the speaker buying "Russian soup" for her son (Line 1). Before the other participants get a chance to use their conversational turn to react to the introduced information, the speaker extends this topical line by an elaborating utterance related to the food product invoked before (Line 2). Clarification made by the speaker in this line is connected

**Image 34: Rusmam Playgroup Meeting, November 16, 2008**

to both the material aspect of the product (“with chicken”) and its discursive form (“red hen its name is”). The emphasis on “red” signals that it is the latter, discursive, form of the food product in focus that is particularly significant in identifying this product correctly. This elaborating line begins with the assertive “you know”, where “know” is accentuated emphasising the speaker’s confidence in the known character of the feature that she makes relevant in her discursive account.

After a short pause signalling that speaker Z has completed her turn, curious about the product that has brought up such an obvious excitement with the speaker, I ask a question regarding the place where this soup was bought. The next three lines of the conversational event comprise Z’s answer to this question, which is illustrated in the Figure 20 below.

**Figure 20: Transnational Connecting in the Construction of National Category: Transcript 9**



As illustrated in Figure 20, the answer represents a summary of transnational connecting that has generated the product, which Z assigns to the known and knowable category of “Russian” food and which she attributes a symbolic value being a carrier of her childhood memories: “but tastes like in my childhood” (Line 6). As visible in the aforementioned line all these attributes and functions of the product in focus is accomplished and realised not due to but despite the aforementioned transnational ties – “*but* it takes like in my childhood” (emphasis is mine). Geographical, national, cultural and discursive crossings involved in the construction of the aforementioned ties are remarkable in themselves. The discursive description “Russian” soup is produced by Z to denote a material product produced in Poland, bought in the Asian shop, which is owned by an Afghan

couple and where one of the owners “speaks Russian a little”. All of the aforementioned border crossings (made in relation to national, ethnic and linguistic aspects of belonging), which would seem to be disturbing rather than generating the links to the national category “Russian” and making it more distant than tangible or accessible, do not disrupt the experience of buying “Russian” soup and serving to her son. Nor do they disable the mechanism of construction and sustaining attachment to the familiar, shared categories by invoking an associated with it discursive description, material feature or practice (extensively examined in relation to categorical and memory work earlier in the chapter). Moreover, as is visible in the interactional event in focus such intense and involved transnational connecting is recognised and accepted by the speaker as a routine, known mechanism that she exploits and employs in the course of her daily life. This is indicated by the multiple adding of “of course” – “in the Asian shop of course” (Line 4), “the soup is Polish of course” (Line 6). It is also conveyed by an increased tempo through Lines 4, 5, and 6, which signals the habitual, regular, normalised character of the described practice and of the making of the description itself.

What the aforementioned analysis demonstrates is that the practices of transnational networking neither erase nationality as a point of reference in the process of identity construction nor make it completely insignificant to the people involved in transnational living. However, it does transform the ways through which both nationality and transnationality become accomplished discursively and socially by dissociating it from the fixed political, statal and linguistic borders and by distributing it across multiple discourses and sites of engagement along with the actors’ practices into which matters of identity and national belonging become embedded. The examination of actors’ interaction represented in the current segment of the thesis (as well as in the earlier analytical segments) reveal that *national* memberships are being constructed and sustained through complex, dynamic and extensive *transnational* connecting, that this connecting, in its turn, often relies on national and ethnic attachments and that both national and transnational associations are formed through and at the intersection between discourses, practices and frames of reference that exceed “the national mentality and its fundamental categories” (Aksoy & Robins, 2003, p. 90).

Moreover, the analysis carried out in this chapter makes visible the fact that this hybridization of national and transnational methods of organizing and representing the realities and of practices and regimes on which these realities rely as well as the merging of them with other identity repertoires (such as doing being a parent), other practices (such as prandial practice), other genres (such as



promotional genres) and other arrangements (political, economic, pedagogical) – all that complexity of the members’ methods which within the framework of my investigation I grasp conceptually through the notion of transnational networking and analytically with the concepts of inter- and transdiscursivity – is in fact recognizable and durable aspect of transnational mobility.

Like any moment of the social and its making, transnational networking mapped out and examined in this analysis and identity work enacted in relation to and through this networking is pervasive, i.e. when it is significant - it is observable in the most banal of the members’ actions (see Chapter 4 for the theoretical and methodological underpinnings of this claim and its role in my investigation). The shifting, washed out, porous divide between symbolic, actional and material realizations of banal nationalism and banal transnationalism highlighted and unpacked in the analysis above is observable in the numerous details of actors’ living registered in my data archive. It is visible in the way the physical and social place of the “Russian” shop in Aalborg is made, where discursive manifestations of banal transnationalism observable in the assortment of the available products (addressed earlier in the analysis and illustrated in Image 35 below) adjoin banal tokens of nationality: such as Russian and Ukrainian flags, vodka in a bottle that features Matryoshka, samovar or a doll in a Rumanian folk costume (Images 36, 37, 38).



Image 35: Sadko, 24.09.2008





Image 36: Sadko, 24.09.2008



Image 37: Sadko, 24.09.2008

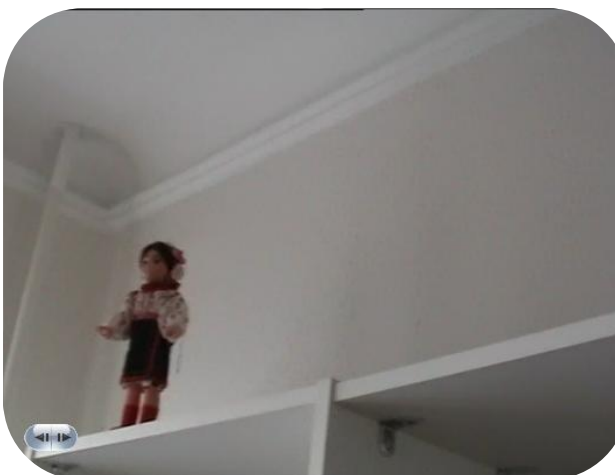


Image 38: Sadko, 24.09.2008

It is also visible within the framework of another site of actors' engagement, computer-mediated social place Rusforum, where belongingness to diverse membership categories is constructed through the elements of layout and through the hypertext functions, which both re-enforce and undermine national belonging. For instance, the identity work illustrated in Figure 17 that is enacted through associating and contesting associations with the membership categories "our" and "their" across national borders is enabled through the hyperlinking function available in the organization of the forum. The same organization encourages the members to articulate their national loyalties in relation to such established frames of national belongingness as a place of birth, place of living, citizenship and residency through a set of options available in the layout frame designated for the expressions of the users' identities, for instance, through the iconic flagging (Billig, 1995) (see Images 39, 40).

Image 39

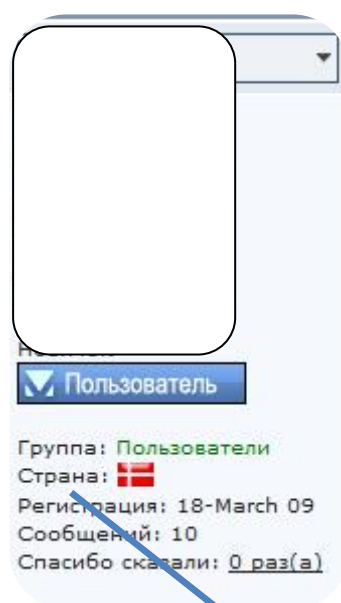
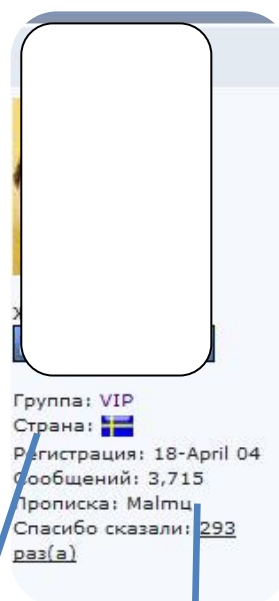


Image 40



"Country"

"Residency"

Thus, where the hybridization and destabilization of the dichotomized 'national-transnational' paradigm in describing and knowing social complexity and mobile living becomes particularly remarkable is in the multitude of unremarkable details of actors' acting and interacting and of the

physical, semiotic and social arrangements mediating these acts. It is across these details and acts, across these semiotic and social sites that, in the analysis presented in this chapter, I traced, mapped out and examined discursive and social mechanisms of transnational networking practices through which symbolic and political, discursive and cultural borders of nationality are being crossed and transgressed. It is also on these details, banal and yet imperative to the making of realities and therefore fundamental to my investigation, that I draw when in the next chapter of the thesis I begin to gather the conceptual and analytical claims and observations made in this chapter and throughout the thesis to propose and discuss the alternative ways of knowing and talking about transnational mobility that would grasp the methods of meaning and reality making uncovered by the present analysis.

#### IV. CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter of my thesis represents an analytical inquiry into the methods of transnational networking. Starting from the analytical position triangulated in the course of the preliminary analysis (Chapter 4) and by moving across diverse segments of data registered in my data archive and associated with the discourses and actions circulating across and sustaining the nexus of practice in focus, significant to the actors involved in my ethnography and, therefore, included in the aforementioned position, I followed the interdiscursive and intersemiotic connectivity constructed by the actors in the course of their everyday actions and interactions and across multiple physical and social sites of their engagement. In examining semiotic and organizational details of multiple computer-mediated and co-present interactional conversational events and elements of visual and verbal discourse using the methods and strategies of multimodal, social semiotic discourse analysis of social interaction developed in Chapter 3 of the thesis, I unpacked and explored those social and discursive mechanisms, which the actors mobilize to account for and class diverse aspects of realities relevant to their immediate concerns and everyday engagements.

By mapping out the ways in which the actors actively and skilfully employ rich affordances of various media and semiotic resources, i.e. the uses of hypertext functions, of illocutionary force of visual discourse, of the prosodic, vocal and verbal aspects of co-present conversational organization, etc., in meaning-making across diverse semiotic fields, I uncovered the regularities and irregularities, the competences and the routines through which the actors enact discursive

construction of the categories invoked to represent and organize the realities and to represent and organize complex and dynamic memberships and associations with these realities.

It is through this analysis of categorical work that I demonstrated that the meanings and classes, which are mobilized by the actors to identify the familiar and supposedly shared points of reference labelled within the framework of prandial discourse through the references to “our” or “Russian” food and which in the conventional transnational rhetoric are addressed as fixed and closed national “container units” (Pries, 2008, p. 6) such as “home” and “original culture”, are in fact neither fixed nor closed. Moreover, these categories are not exclusively made up of national attachments as the aforementioned rhetoric presupposes. Instead, memberships are constructed and invoked through the negotiation of complex and dynamic lists of accounts, experiences, discursive descriptions associated with diverse aspects of identity (such as doing being a parent) and with diverse everyday practices (such as prandial practices).

Furthermore, by focusing on the mundane details of actors’ interaction, I demonstrated in the course of the analysis that through such discursive mechanisms as memory work the actors mobilize familiar categories and points of references negotiated across the aforementioned lists of items to make sense of and to account for the aspects of realities relevant to their current living situations, thereby, stretching the discursive, material and social connections involved in the construction of these categories not only across temporal divide between past and present but also across symbolic, political and geographical borders of national, ethnic and cultural belongingness.

Later in the chapter, I proceeded with the analytical examination of actors’ interaction to uncover the making of the aforementioned connectivity, which within the framework of my investigation is described as transnational networking. By unpacking the complex interdiscursive constructs produced through such elements of membership categorization device (Sacks, 1992) as attribution of favourable and negative features to particular categories and category-bound activities, etc., I make visible how diverse aspects of realities: practices, social and physical places, normative regimes and memberships become intertwined in the actors’ interaction. Moreover, I demonstrate how these interdiscursive chains become affirmed, contested and reproduced across multiple sites of actors’ engagement captured in my ethnography as well as how they become incorporated within the genres outside the discursive and interactional contexts within which these chains are produced and invoked (such as promotional and pedagogical genres), thereby linking, challenging and

organizing the practices and arrangements that rely on these genres (such as commercial and child-rearing practices and routines in child-care institutions).

It is through mapping out these acts of inter- and transdiscursivity that within the framework of this chapter I identified and described the methods of transnational networking – i.e. the ways in which transnational associations are enacted and articulated, sustained and re-organized in the mundane actions and interactions of which the actors' everyday lives are composed and across diverse aspects of realities (economic, political and social arrangements and praxes). In addition, I demonstrated how transnational networking is involved in the ways the actors construct and negotiate their identities across diverse membership categories and how this identity work is instrumental in organizing and accounting for the conduct through which all the numerous and banal details of everyday practices are being arranged.

In the next chapter of the thesis, I embark on the critical discussion of the analytical inferences outlined in this section in order to account for and make sense of the scholarly (conceptual, philosophical, methodological) and public (political, governmental, pragmatic) implications of the mechanisms of transnational networking uncovered through the analysis represented in this chapter. That is, while in the course of the analytical work described above I rely on and provide evidence for the pervasiveness of the social matters by both observing analytically and making observable the methods of transnational networking in the actions and practices that in themselves are not remarkably or visibly transnational. In the next chapter, I draw on the research criterion anchored in the aforementioned observability of the social arrangements and formulated in Chapter 3 of the thesis – the generalizability of the analytical findings. In more concrete terms, I engage in the discussion of social and discursive aspects transnational networking and of its scholarly and public implications based on the argument that because I arrived at the aforementioned findings through the systematic and careful use of the methodological strategies developed specifically for capturing and unpacking discursive, semiotic and social constructions and acts within which I examine the aspect of realities in focus, these findings are generalizable - i.e. applicable for the assessment, understanding and prediction of the sets of relations and practices outside the empirical context (social orders, physical settings, temporal frameworks, etc.) of this investigation.

## CHAPTER 8: FROM STUDYING TRANSNATIONAL NETWORKING TO UNDERSTANDING TRANSNATIONAL GOVERNMENTALITY: THE DISCUSSION

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***“The problems are rather far-fetched, forced. Ours are both more simple and more complex. A psychiatrist won’t help us.”  
(Posted on Rusforum<sup>90</sup>, see Appendices III.19, III.20)***

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As I set out on writing this chapter, which will comprise the critical discussion of those analytical threads and conceptual arguments that I have developed and put forward in the course of my investigation and throughout this thesis and that concern the matters and the methods of transnational mobility and identity construction, another discussion, equally critical and featuring the same concerns – the problematics of transnational living - has just emerged in one of the sites of actors’ interaction within which my investigation took place, Rusforum<sup>91</sup>. The discussion topic is opened by a Russian-speaking psychiatrist from Ireland or as he eloquently defines himself and “all the rest of us” in the topic description: “Anglo-Russian”, “Ire-Russisch”, “Afro-Ukrainian”, “just European” or “just doctor”. The topic contains the announcement of a conference for psychiatrists and social-workers on the “Immigration Syndrome” (or the so-called “Ulysses Syndrome”) and of the “European medical immigrant and diaspora support programme”. As the topic description states, the syndrome, and the programme launched to counter its spreading and its consequences, relates to the diverse forms of social and psychosomatic inabilities as a result of the state of “loss”, “discomfort”, “displacement”, “disentanglement”, “disattachments”, “distancing” and the whole array of other ‘dis-’s listed in the description of the syndrome presented in or hyperlinked to the topic description and generally associated with migrant living both inside and outside academia. So far the comments posted in response to the announcement are all more or less ironically and sceptically coloured:

– “Who needs a psychiatrist? 😊))))”:

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<sup>90</sup> <<http://rusforum.dk/index.php?showtopic=21936&st=0&#entry330733>>

<sup>91</sup> <<http://rusforum.dk/index.php?showtopic=21936&st=0&#entry330733>> [Accessed : January 2, 2011], See Appendix III.19, Appendix III.20

- “And what sort of syndrome is that exactly – immigration?”;
- “Haven’t heard of one single case, and what is only going on in this Ireland of yours, ah?”;
- “Autthor, keep writing, please”;
- “Like reading”;

and perhaps the most insightful and powerful of them:

- *“The problems are rather far-fetched, forced. Ours are both more simple and more complex. A psychiatrist won’t help us.”*

The analytical and critical character of this insight into and observation on what doing being transnational entails is particularly visible because it is not downplayed with any graphic of written markers of humour or irony as the rest of the comments in the topic. Completely stripped of any grammatical, punctuational or orthographic ‘irregularities’ which as the analysis in the previous chapter demonstrates the forum’s participants regularly and generously use to produce meaning, this post is an honest and serious look into the perplexity and complexity of transnational living.

Very much as my own investigation, this comment neither dismisses nor denies the challenging and problematic character of arranging and enacting lives across borders. Very much as with my own investigation, the comment is, however, a precise and knowledgeable articulation of the failure of the established voices within academic, public, media and political genres to address transnational living and to capture its concerns and its methods, which are “both more simple and more complex” than these conventional, routine regimes of knowing and regulating transnational mobility presuppose. In addition, this comment is an expression of frustration with and resistance to the consistent attempts to pin down, to diagnose and to stamp transnational ways of lives and transnational belonging as deviant, as a “state”, a “syndrome” or a condition that is necessarily accompanied by social and psychosomatic inabilities and that requires medical and psychiatric attention.

It is this acute awareness of the fact that the master discourse on transnationality, which shifts between glorifying and otherizing, romanticising and diagnosticising of transnational living, does not capture the complexity of its politics and its pedagogy is exactly what motivated and drove my investigation. It is not the intent to *de-problematize* the doing being transnational that underpinned my conceptual search and empirical exploration but the intent to contest *the set of problems* that is



being regularly “fetched” when transnational mobility is made relevant in media, academic, political (and now medical) discourses and “forced” onto the descriptions and discussions associated with the matters of transnationality.

To realize this intent, within the framework of my research I worked on moving beyond the mentality and conceptual apparatus of methodological nationalism, which is invoked and reproduced every time transnational living is articulated solely as the construction of nationality-at-a-distance (e.g. in diaspora studies) or as shuttling between fixed cultural repertoires anchored to the geo-political national territories (transnational shuttling theories). The significance of this task, at which I arrived as a result of personal and academic engagements and work (described in Chapter 4 of the thesis), is repeatedly articulated in more recent studies of transnationality (Al-Ali & Koser, 2001; Kennedy & Roudometof, 2002; Clavin, 2005; Dahinden, 2005; Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007; Khagram & Levitt, 2008; Pries, 2008; Gielis, 2009; Aksoy & Robins, 2003). Moreover, the importance and the urgency of revisiting the established conceptual apparatus with which transnational rhetoric operates and of redefining it through a focused and profound theoretical discussion becomes obvious when we see how the aforementioned way of addressing transnationality and its terminology become increasingly and broadly appropriated by those political and institutional genres with which transnational living is governed.

The computer-mediated discussion to which I refer in the beginning of this chapter vividly illustrates this stabilization and institutionalization of the conventional transnational discourse and its conceptual repertoire. In addition, this demonstrates that because this repertoire, formed around the national “container units” (Pries, 2008, p. 6) (such as nation-state or diaspora) and associating transnational living with crisis, with “borderline state between health and disease”<sup>92</sup>, does not capture the variety of transnational experiences, the people who live transnational lives and enact these experiences do not recognize and, furthermore, resist governing strategies that rely on this discursive and conceptual framework (such as European immigrant support programme and the EU-funded medical conference announced in the discussion topic). That is, when the genres of transnational governance operate with the theoretical apparatus unequipped to capture transnational complexity, the governing strategies anchored in this limited theorizations of transnationality fail to translate into the strategies of *governmentality* – the art of governance that regulate society through

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<sup>92</sup> <[http://www.iguana.ws/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=295:sindromimm&catid=14:2009-12-09-14-26-11&Itemid=173](http://www.iguana.ws/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=295:sindromimm&catid=14:2009-12-09-14-26-11&Itemid=173)> [accessed December 2010 through hyperlink available on <<http://rusforum.dk/index.php?showtopic=21936&st=0&#entry330733>>]

directing the conduct of individuals (Foucault, 1980; Rose, O'Malley, & Valverde, 2006). This entails that the task of finding the “alternative possibilities” (Aksoy & Robins, 2003, p. 90) for theorizing transnationality is not only an academic concern but is also crucial for assessing the active political decisions and programmes and thinking of new ways of regulating, supporting and facilitating the increasingly rich transnational relations.

## I. FROM STUDYING TRANSNATIONAL NETWORKING TO UNDERSTANDING TRANSNATIONAL GOVERNMENTALITY

It is also therefore I began my investigation by revising the existing theorizations of transnationality and their terminology and developing through this critical revision the conceptualization of transnationality which I claim is apt for grasping the complexity of transnational methods. This conceptualization grasped by the term *transnational networking* leans on a number of theoretical arguments recently emerged within the framework of such directions of transnational studies as ‘network’ perspective (Vertovec, 1999; Clavin, 2005; Dahinden, 2005; McIlvenny & Raudaskoski, 2005; Wilding, 2006; Van den Bos & Nell, 2006), ‘placial’ approach (Appadurai, 1996; Wimmer & Schiller, 2002; Gielis, 2009; Hannerz, 1996) and transnational identity studies (Rushdie, 1991; Radhakrishnan, 2007; Bhabha H. K., 2007; Krzyżanowski & Wodak, 2008; Visweswaran, 2008; Bhattacharya, 2009). Furthermore, this rests on the ontological and epistemological premises put forward in the scholarly writings that deal with the matters of social complexities and the praxes of their knowing from more general perspectives such as mobility studies (Urry, 2003), ethnomethodology (Garfinkel, 2002; Rawls, 2002) and Actor Network Theory (Law, 2003; 2004; Latour, 2005).

The former array of the studies provided me with the theoretical grounds for moving the conceptualization of transnationality from the realm of “problematic dualisms” (McIlvenny & Raudaskoski, 2005, p. 60) of micro and macro, global and local, ‘home’ and ‘host’, societal and technological into the domain of the studies of individuals and their activities through the prism of a multi-sited, “open and relational” (Gielis, 2009, p. 273) organizational form for human action – *network* (Castells, 2002, p. 1). The ontological claims made within the latter array of research enabled me to recognize the philosophical underpinnings and to predict the epistemological

consequences of theorizing transnationality as sociality made up of and sustained through the intersection of placial associations and individuals' actions. It is by building the theoretical bridge between the two aforementioned directions of scholarly work that I was able to identify the theoretical arguments of transnational research outlined above as a part of a more general and still emergent tendency of social studies to highlight the ontological multiplicity of the social realities, i.e. "the many contradictory ways in which social aggregates are constantly evoked, erased, distributed, and reallocated" in the acts of the human actors (Latour, 2005, p. 41).

Moreover, by bringing together and putting to work the above-delineated lines of theoretical, ontological and epistemological reasoning I proposed the theorization of transnationality that approaches transnational living as one of the complexities through which the many messy, mobile "circumstantial and overwhelming details" of realities are arranged (Garfinkel, 2002, p. 95). While the range of the recent transnational studies highlighted earlier succeeded in escaping the formulations of transnationality that operate with a 'scale', 'flow' or 'context' as the main models of transnational order, I both build upon the arguments put forward within the aforementioned writings on transnationality and take a step further by claiming that 'network' or 'place' are not the "building blocks" (Latour, 2005, p. 41) of transnational living either. Or rather, I argue that transnational living does not takes place in *either* networks *or* places, *either* 'on-line' *or* 'off-line' (as emphasized in the studies of transnationality focusing on computer-mediated interaction as either representative of or segregated from "physical places" (Gielis, 2009; Appadurai, 1996; Van den Bos & Nell, 2006) , *either* through moorings (e.g. national moorings emphasized by diaspora studies) *or* through "violent shuttling between two or more worlds" (Visweswaran, 2008, p. 302) (as argued by 'transnational shuttling' theories). Instead, I claim that transnational accounts and experiences are enacted through complex and on-going *connecting* between the aforementioned sites of human engagement as well as between many other "surprising sets of agencies" and through many other associations (Latour, 2005, pp. 42, 5) which the actors invoke and construct as they engage in the multitude of their everyday actions and interactions.

Therefore, within this investigation, the preferred term for addressing transnational relations is nether 'transnationality', which alludes to the sustainability and regularity of transnational movements, nor 'transnationalism', which promotes this regularity to the degree of a self-evident condition, but 'transnational mobility', the term which puts an emphasis on the shifting character and diversity of transnational associations. It is also therefore that the central metaphor employed in

this monograph for grasping the mechanisms and routines through which transnational mobility is enacted is neither a ‘network’, which evokes a one-to-one relationship between place and sociality and does not account for the linkages leading outside these singular constructs, nor ‘actor network’, which, on its own, does not grasp the acts of crossing and transgressing the borders of national belonging with which my investigation is concerned, but *networking* as a multitude of actors’ actions, activities and practices through which the associations between materialities and discursivities, between computer-mediated and co-present sites of actors’ engagement, between social orders and semiotic fields are being constructed and contested, sustained and re-organized. By incorporating this metaphor into the study of transnational mobility and introducing the notion of *transnational networking*, I capture conceptually the construction of those associations that cut across and move beyond the symbolic, discursive, political, geographical and cultural borders of nationalities. In doing so, I coin a particular approach to theorizing transnational living that both makes use of and develops the existing conceptualizations of transnationality in a way that does not prescribe a specific pre-conceived transnational ordering but allows for the exploration of transnational dialectics as it is being formulated and re-formulated, enacted and resisted by the actors in the course of their everyday lives and associations with the engagements and arrangements that are not essentially transnational and not necessarily anchored in the matters and manifestations of national and ethnic belonging.

This theoretical revision and conceptual highlighting of the complexity in the making of transnational associations is significant for describing and making sense of transnational experiences. However, it is not enough to carry out the exploration of these experiences, unless it is accompanied by a methodological framework, which enables identifying and tracing these associations in a way that grasps “the distinct and the slippery”, the stability and the rupture intrinsic to the production of the social without holding it tight (Law, 2004, p. 3). Therefore, within the framework of my research the search for theoretical alternatives for capturing transnational mobility was inseparable from the methodological quest for the ways to strategize the investigation of the methods and mechanisms through which this mobility becomes enacted. In the writings of such scholars as Marcus (1995), Burawoy (2003, as cited in Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007, p. 143), Clavin (2005), Fitzgerald (2004), Levitt & Jaworsky (2007), Mazzucato (2007b, as cited in Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007, p. 143), Khagram & Levitt (2008), Pries (2008) the aforementioned task is unequivocally articulated as one of the most crucial matters on the agenda of contemporary transnational research. The same writings repeatedly emphasize that despite the recent

developments of “mobile ethnography” (Marcus, 1995), within which the majority of transnational studies seek their methodological foundation, “an adequate methodology and satisfactory methods for transnational research” still remain one of its *desiderata* (Pries, 2008, p. 4) and those scholars who have opened up the conceptual complexity of transnational living in their theoretical debates are often held back in their empirical attempts to deal with the matters of this complexity by the absence of a methodological framework that would allow them to grasp the density and thickness of transnational experiences.

Within the framework of my investigation the methodological search started in the same ethnographic paradigm that pays attention to the modes of and follows the actions through which meanings, objects and identities circulate “between the social worlds” and “in diffuse time-space” (Marcus, 1995, p. 96; Atkinson, 2008, p. 29). Where I part from many of the existing methodological discussions is with the understanding of which analytical tools and strategies available within this paradigm are in fact “adequate” and “satisfactory” (Pries, 2008, p. 4) for transnational research and why. Because the majority of studies of transnational relations are pre-occupied with the definition and examination of “transnational societal units (Pries, 2008)” as particular social spaces and processes within which and through which transnationality is accomplished, the appropriate methodology for exploration of such spaces is seen as the one enabling the researcher to identify and study “transnational units of analysis” (Pries, 2008). That is, “transnational approach” is construed as a specific set of tools apt for knowing a specific facet of out-there-ness by locating and focusing on the units and spaces within which the construction of this facet takes place.

It is this assumption that *transnational practices* should be studied through *transnational methods* that I had to abandon when I proposed the theorization, which construes transnational mobility not in terms of units, structures and other pre-conceived and prescribed social “building blocks” (Latour, 2005, p. 41) but in terms of connecting enacted through numerous *mediated actions* (Scollon, 2001). These mediated actions cut across and intertwine diverse semiotic fields, physical sites, social orders, practices and identity categories, which are not transnational until the actors invoke and involve them in the aforementioned mundane actions in a way that crosses or/and transgresses the symbolic, discursive, legal, political matters and markers of national belongingness. This entails that within the framework of the theoretical-methodological argument that I make in this dissertation, adequate and prolific methods of knowing (describing and analysing) transnational

associations lie not with the essentialized ‘transnational methods’ but with the so-called *members’ methods* (Rawls, 2002; Garfinkel, 2002; Latour, 2005) – “the embodied, endogenous, witnessable practices” in which human actors engage in producing these associations and the competencies required to recognize and repeat this production (Rawls, 2002, p. 7).

In building up the aforementioned argument I proposed to follow these methods through examining the ways in which they are represented, accounted for and enacted in the discursive practices in which the actors’ engage in the course of their everyday lives. The inquiry into the methods and mechanisms, which the actors’ mobilize in organizing transnational networking and in making sense of the relations and arrangements enabled through this networking, carried out within my research is, first and foremost, a “situated inquiry” (Law, 2004, pp. 2, 3). This entails that in the course of my investigation, I examined thinking, acting, interacting, valuing, feeling, believing, and using symbols, tools, and objects, of which the methods of transnational living and identity construction are made up, by mapping out and unpacking the mechanisms through which this non-language “stuff” becomes integrated with language (Gee, 1999) – i.e. by studying discursive aspects of transnational networking as they become enacted in particular moments of actors’ social interaction.

The way this methodological position is designed to work for tracing the associations that mediate transnational networking and that are constructed by the actors across multiple physical, semiotic and social sites of their engagements is through two analytical linkages. The first link relies on the *meta-functionality* (Halliday, 2004) or *dialectics* (Fairclough, 2003) of discourse and allows for the examination of particular aspects of realities through the exploration of the ways in which the actors represent, categorize and orient towards these aspects in the course of their interaction. That is, the first analytical junction connects discursive practices with the matters and regimes of social organization and the matters and routines of identity construction. Another analytical link mobilizes the concept of *semiosis* to enable the examination of the ways in which the aforementioned functions of discourse become realized in the acts of co-presented and computer-mediated interaction (and in the discursive inscriptions produced and invoked in this interaction) through the exploration of the diverse modes of meaning-making and of multiple *resemiotizations* through which the meanings shift “from context to context, from practice to practice, or from one stage of practice to the next” (Iedema, 2001, pp. 40, 41). That is, the second analytical junction links the discursive practices to the numerous microscopic and trivial details of discursive and conversational

organization and to numerous semiotic resources enabling these discursive acts and conversational events, which are observable and accessible for registering and analytical processing.

This entails that the methodological perspective that I developed within the framework of my project makes it possible to trace and address the imperative and durable but elusive and inconspicuous relations and arrangements of the social realities through the examination of unremarkable and minute but observable and accessible details and moments of social interaction without unaccounted analytical leaping between these frames of reference. The methodological approach delineated above is supported through a number of analytical tools and ethnographic strategies, which are originated within such research perspectives as Conversation Analysis (Sacks, 1992; Silverman, 1998), Social-Semiotics Analysis (Iedema, 2001; Kress, 2010; Prior & Hengst, 2010), Critical Discourse Analysis (Gee, 1999; Fairclough, 2003; Rapley, 2007), Website and Hypermedia Analysis (Herring S. , 1996; 1996; 2008; Lemke, 2002) and Nexus Analysis (Scollon, 2001; 2004) and which I brought together to tailor what I term multimodal, social-semiotic, discourse approach to analyzing social interaction (described and discussed in Chapter 3 of the thesis). This interdisciplinary approach is what enabled me to identify the sites and interaction orders across which the actions and discourses significant to the actors circulate and also to map out and unpack, while moving back and forth along the analytical channel described above, the ways in which meanings and categories involved in representing, categorizing and relating to particular aspects of transnational networking are being made recognizable and recognized.

The methodological work discussed above has two implications. One of these is that as the ethnographic and analytical framework developed in the course of my investigation is designed for following and unpacking the members' rather than 'transnational' methods, this framework is applicable outside the empirical context of the current project, i.e. it is apt for ethnographic circumferencing (Scollon & Scollon, 2004) and analytical disentangling of not only transnational ties but of *any* set of connections constructed by human actors and, hence, any aspect of social complexities. I see this reproducible quality and broad applicability of the proposed methodological perspective as one of the central contributions of this research. The analysis represented in Chapter 7 of this thesis is an illustration of how the aforementioned perspective can be applied and a testimony to the fact that it does bring rich analytical results about the matters of social complexities and motilities, which might have remained unnoticed within or inaccessible to the analytical prism



less attentive to the details and moments of discursive, semiotic and categorization work highlighted above or less tuned for capturing them.

Another implication concerns the fact that both conceptually and analytically, I am as much concerned with the construction and organization of transnational living as with its instruction, i.e. the ways in which the actors account for, describe, contest and position themselves in relation to diverse aspects of this organization (meanings, normative regimes, practices as well as inter- and transdiscursive constructions and acts in which these meanings, regimes and routines become mobilized). In fact, the examination of transnational networking practices represented in this dissertation was organized theoretically and methodologically so that it did not only allow me to identify the building blocks of transnational mobility, i.e. things, resources, symbols, memberships etc. that become mobilized across national, ethnical and cultural borders, but it also enabled me to know the human actors that enact and administrate this mobility as well as the “procedures, analysis and reflections, the calculation and tactics” (Foucault, 1991, p. 102) - i.e. the mentality - behind this administration.

This is why I position this discussion of my research findings within the framework of governmental rationale exposed and debated by such thinkers as Michel Foucault (Foucault, 1991; 1980) and Nikolas Rose (Rose, 1999; Rose, O'Malley, & Valverde, 2006). By means of this rationale I argue that the discursive and social mechanisms (e.g. categorization and memory work, interdiscursivity), which the actors employ to organize and make sense of the dispersed-in-time and -space memberships, everyday arrangements and practices and which I uncovered in the course of the analysis presented in the previous chapter, are the elements of *transnational conduct*, represented, constructed and negotiated through the moments of social interaction that I examined. Whereas those analytical findings, which make visible how the discursive and ideational constructs (categories, normative regimes and interdiscursive chains) identified in the course of the analysis and produced through the aforementioned mechanisms become mobilized in the acts of transdiscursivity to arrange and regulate diverse genres and practices of the social (such as marketing strategies, food-related practices in the child-care institutions, commercial decisions, etc.), all contribute to understanding of how in the course of the actors' mundane actions and activities this transnational conduct is directed by and how it, in turn, directs economic, familial, etc. societal enterprises across and beyond the established symbolic, political and physical territories (such as nation, state, ethnicity) – i.e. to knowing *transnational governmentality*.

The concept of transnational mobility was coined by James Ferguson and Akhil Gupta (2002) to highlight the tension between the logics of governmentality that grasps the ways in which the nation-state manages to connect itself to the forces and groups shaping and administering the lives of individuals in pursuit of various goals (Rose, O'Malley, & Valverde, 2006, p. 87), and those forms of government and arts of governance that crosscut national territories and jurisdictions. In introducing this concept, Ferguson and Gupta encourage the re-thinking of “spatiality of governmentality” and open up “a new line of inquiry into the study of governmentality in contemporary world” (2002, p. 996). It is this line of inquiry, still very sparsely marked in scholarly writings, that I contribute to with my examination of discursive and social aspects of transnational networking. Below I shall begin to draw together the analytical inferences at which I arrived within the framework of this examination and to discuss the facets of transnational living, transnational belongingness and transnational conduct, which these inferences and observations regarding the methods and the mechanism of transnational networking make visible.

## II. FORMULATING TRANSNATIONAL DIALECTICS

The first set of analytical inferences that I would like to discuss concerns the psychoanalytical rhetoric that, as highlighted in the theoretical review and revision carried out in Chapter 2 of the thesis and as pointed out by Askoy and Robins (2003), is strongly represented in the current transnational scholarship. What I aimed to challenge in this rhetoric through my research is the equating of transnational living with the spatial, temporal and cultural dislocation that leads the people engaged in this living to discomfort, anxiety, alienation and to almost inevitable and eternal splitting between the essentially antinomic “mother culture” and “new culture” (Aksoy & Robins, 2003). As the analysis of multiple and multimodal interactional events accomplished in Chapter 7 demonstrates, both the nostalgic longing for the familiar points of reference and active recollection and reconstruction of these points are significant moments of the discursive practices in which the actors engage in the course of their daily lives. However, the memory work, which I traced and made visible through my examination is not even nearly as epic and preyed by “the drama of separation and the pathos of distance” as the narrative of exile and loss presupposes (Aksoy & Robins, 2003, p. 90). More importantly, the memory work through which the actors construct and negotiate familiar categories (marked within the framework of prandial discourse through the references to “our”, “Russian” food, etc.) is not nearly as simple as this narrative allows for by

viewing the acts invoking “familiar tastes, smells, tunes and gestures” as uses of “teddy bear during the mother’s absence” (Seda Sengün, 2001, p. 68, as cited in Aksoy & Robins, 2003, p. 91) which might redeem the sense of separation but which would never prevent the shuttling, the splitting and “the failure to fully inhabit the present or present space” (Ahmed, 1999, p. 343). Below I shall address these discrepancies between the established rationale on which some scholars of migrational, diaspora and ‘transnational shuttling’ studies rely and the rationale behind the actions and interactions of people engaged in transnational living, which I made visible in following and unpacking these actions and interactions.

First of all, any line of thinking about transnational mobility that operates with the dichotomized vision of mobile living insinuates that there are two more or less stable, fixed, shared and known entities between which actors’ living contexts are divided and which serve as the starting and destination points of their shuttling. Whether these binary pairs are addressed as ‘mother’ culture and ‘new’ culture, ‘home’ and ‘host, ‘original’ society and ‘receiving’ society, ‘here’ and ‘there’, etc. and whether the human actors are seen as commuting between them, separated completely from one of them, or transferring them as closed packages into the “substitute communities” (Ahmed, 1999), the underlying assumption of this binary rhetoric is that there are some containers of knowledge, meanings, symbols and feelings that are accomplished, more or less homogenous and anchored in the nation-state territories, which the actors can move and move away from and move back to.

My analysis of the actors’ interaction uncovers a different performance of transnational realities. In mapping out and examining the categorization work, which the actors carry out across diverse semiotic fields, social orders and physical sites, I demonstrated that those aspects of realities, those memberships, those temporal and spatial points of reference that they class as familiar and shared are not homogenous and not at all accomplished. When analytically unpacked, the categories marked and invoked as common and known (e.g. through the use of pro-form words “our” and “us”, through the attribution to the recognizable interdiscursive constructions that link normative regimes and particular aspects of prandial practices such as “normal”, “good”, “healthy” or “wholesome” food, etc.) emerge as dynamic and compound collections of accounts, experiences, knowledges, meanings and symbols that the actors construct and continuously re-negotiate in the course of their interaction and in association with their everyday concerns and engagements, such as child-rearing and food-related practices.

Moreover, the items that the actors list under these familiar categories are not clustered in one geographic-political territory and not all anchored in the matters of national belongingness. Instead, those actions, activities and routines that the actors make relevant in assembling and representing such categories are in themselves dispersed in time and in space and across numerous practices and doings through which these practices are enacted (such as feeding children). This entails that while certain aspects of realities are made recognizable and recognized by the actors as familiar and while the familiar is sometimes associated with more or less distant past (e.g. through the references to “childhood”) it is neither fixed nor accomplished prior to the interaction, nor entirely national. This also means that the memberships and transnational attachments are being constructed not from one closed and complete national or cultural category to another but across compound lists of accounts, experiences and meanings, which are mobilized in the construction of these categories and to which the actors relate through the discursive acts of disavowing or recognizing, challenging or affirming that I made visible and described in the course of the analysis. Some of these accounts have strong associations with political, symbolic and placial manifestations of nationality, some do not. Nevertheless, all of them however are wrapped up in and intertwined with multitude of personal and familial routines, social arrangements, and daily concerns that continue to be relevant in the actors’ immediate living situations.

This brings me to the next insight of my analytical examination. Some writings on the matters of transnational living presume that transnationality occurs at the moment of movement from one national territory to another and that it takes place when the people engaged in this movement become separated from the cultural, experiential and social container attached to this territory and because they stay separated from them. In examining the methods and mechanisms of discursive and conversational organisation and the competences that the participants employ in realizing these mechanisms I put these assumptions to test. By following and unpacking the construction of membership categories that the actors enact across multiple and multimodal interactional encounters, I was able to not only identify those moments of the actors’ historical bodies, elements of daily practices, normative regimes and routines that they assemble in categorizing particular aspects of reality as shared, familiar, known and reliable, but also to demonstrate that the discursive and social connections, through which the aforementioned items are linked to form the categories in focus and through which these categories are sustained and made recognizable, become stretched, transformed and intertwined with the other sets of relations, social arrangements and concerns, which are relevant to the actors’ immediate living situations.

In tracing diverse semiotic recourses and discursive mechanisms through which the acts of recollecting involved in the construction of membership categories take place I was able to see beyond their easily observable nostalgic undertones and to uncover within these acts numerous moments of the active and prolific remembering, which exceeds the melancholic longing that has become “something of a conventional stance” in transnational and diasporic agenda (Aksoy & Robins, 2003, p. 92). As the analysis demonstrates, in the course of this memory work and by employing the discursive mechanisms of inter- and transdiscursivity the actors do not only categorize and negotiate the familiar and shared points of reference but also continuously and skilfully mobilize these points (e.g. by invoking their discursive labels, category-bound activities or features attributed to them) to make sense of their current arrangements and engagements and to organize the actions and activities that are immediately relevant to their living. This networking of relational nexuses, taking place in association with diverse actions and practices in which the actors engage in the course of their lives and within the framework of discourses that mediate these practices, does not only compress the time-space divide but it also interlinks the “familiar and novel currents” (Middleton & Brown, 2005, p. 44) of meanings, sensory experiences, cultural resources, etc. across this divide so that the collections of accounts, experiences, feelings, values and norms that make up and mark particular membership categories become incorporated and embedded within each other.

This complex and dynamic networking destabilizes the ‘national-transnational’ frames of reference with which the matters of identity and belongingness are addressed. When the members continuously organize and account for their conduct through the methods of transnational networking revealed in the analysis and highlighted above (such as category and memory work, inter- and transdiscursivity) they do not only cut across the borders of national belonging (for instance, when they invoke particular aspects of prandial practices categorized as familiar, temporarily and spatially distant to arrange their current food-related routines associated with a different national and cultural context) but they also blur the boundaries between what ‘national’ and ‘transnational’ mean. By following and analytically examining the discursive and social aspects of this conduct, in the course of my investigation, I have repeatedly made visible how national memberships are being constructed and/or re-enforced through transnational associations and how transnational relations are organized by invoking the matters of national belongingness.

For instance, the analysis of Transcript 9 demonstrates how doing being Russian is enacted by one of the Rusmam members, who came to Denmark from Kazakhstan, through buying “Russian soup for children” that tastes “like in my childhood”, which is produced in Poland and which is sold in the “Asian shop” driven by “an Afghan couple” (see Transcript 9). That is, the national attachment is constructed through invoking a particular aspect of prandial practices attributed to the category of familiar and distant past, which in itself is a product of a complex set of transnational associations (such as the import-export system, international trading and European policies that allow for and regulate the movement of food-products across borders, migrational flows that create the demand for the “ethnic” shops and as a result of which the “Afghan couple” opened the “Asian shop” in Denmark, code-switching practices that enabled the actors involved to communicate across multiple linguistic systems, etc.). In networking this nexus of transnational relations into another set of connections through which she construct her national belongingness (such as particular moments in her historical body, e.g. “childhood”, particular experiences, e.g. “taste”, particular physical places and cultural contexts), incorporating them into her daily practices and routines (such as feeding her child, attending Rusmam meetings, etc.) and then reproducing it discursively with the emphasis on the commonality of this experience (e.g. through multiple insertions of “of course”), the actor establishes and normalizes a particular way of acting – a particular conduct. This conduct is not organized in the gap between two nationalities, cultures or societies but through the networking of multiple relational nexuses all of which can be stretched to articulate and enact attachments to diverse national memberships and territories (in the context of the Transcript 9, Russian, Kazakh, Polish, Afghan, Danish; Asian, etc.) as much as they can be stretched across these memberships and territories (such as, when a product produced in Poland, sold in the “Asian shop” by an “Afghan couple” is referred to as “Russian” and invoked to describe an experience that took place in Kazakhstan, etc.).

What I argue based on the analytical observations discussed above is that there are no practices that are essentially national or transnational. Any practice, i.e. any collection of discourses, cultural resources and material objects, routines and actions through which the objects are handled, normative regimes and meanings attributed to the cultural repertoires, etc., can be enacted and articulated nationally, i.e. through more or less implicit associations with categories that represent and invoke national belonging, as much as it can be accomplished and accounted for transnationally, i.e. by cutting across symbolic and political borders of national belongingness. There is, however, a particular way of organizing everyday practices through which the actors

administer diverse aspects of their lives (such as food-related and child-rearing practices), diverse aspects of their identities (such as doing being a parent) and which operates through the continuous linking and hybridization, stretching and compressing of nationally- and transnationally-assembled relational nexuses – what I refer to as transnational networking whose discursive and social mechanisms I examined and discussed in this dissertation.

As I was tracing the methods of transnational networking in the course of the analysis I was also making visible how the actors rationalize and analyze its diverse aspects, thereby calculating and reflecting on their transnational conduct that relies on these moments and acts of transnational connecting. For instance, the analysis of Excerpts 29, 30 and 31 demonstrates that the mythologisation of particular aspects of realities, which is seen in many transnational studies as the evidence of “discontinuities of personal biographies” between past and present between home and exile, between the two environments (Ahmed, 1999, p. 16), is in fact the subject of sharp, analytical and critical revision from the very same participants who are engaged in the production of these “mythic pasts” (Ahmed, 1999, p. 15). While the established transnational rhetoric claims that migrant and transnational experiences are “always about the *failure of memory to fully make sense of the place one comes to inhabit*”, on the one hand, and about “the impossibility to return”, on the other hand (Ahmed, 1999, p. 16), my analytical examination reveals that memory work and the acts of inter- and transdiscursivity involved in this memory work is exactly how the aspects of realities categorized as the temporally and spatially distant familiar become opened up, revisited, re-negotiated and employed to anticipate, organize and rationalize the current, less distant social orders, arrangements and activities. The expressions of nostalgic and melancholic longing involved in this networking of the familiar and novel points of references, accounts and routines are not just manifestations of “the discomfort of inhabiting a migrant body, a body which feels out of place, which feels uncomfortable in this place” (Ahmed, 1999, p. 16), but an element of transnational conduct that is recognizable and known by the actors which they sometimes play along with in constructing a particular category or their belonging to a particular membership (Excerpt 30), and sometimes pick it up, make it conspicuous and take it a part to resist a particular categorization (Excerpts 29, 31).

Similarly, when some transnational and migrational writings discussing the construction of transnational identities deny the analytical facet of the collective acts of identity construction and the ability of the actors to reflect on the products of these acts, such as “the ‘we’” (Ahmed, 1999, p.



16), my analysis uncovers that the construction of membership categories and the acts of orientation towards or away from these categories are closely intertwined with active and profound reflecting on the methods of transnational networking and on the social and discursive arrangements that underpin this construction. For instance, the analysis of Excerpt 40 demonstrates how one of the Rusforum's participants skilfully employs hypermedia resources to contest the intersection of normative regimes (e.g. "normal", "real"), features ("wholesome", "healthy") and discursive frameworks (e.g. prandial discourses, discourses of organic living and health-care, etc.) through which the categories marked as 'our' and 'their' are being assembled and to show the arbitrary and ambiguous character of these interdiscursive constructs (see Figure 17).

In the same way, the analysis of Transcripts 7 and 8 capturing the interaction events, which took place in another site of actors' engagement included in my ethnography, Rusmam, demonstrates that the participants do not just fall into the regimes of being and doing inherent to the 'host culture' or 'receiving society' but they rationalize the ways in which they incorporate particular actions and routines (such as serving open sandwiches with mackerel and liver pâté to their children for lunch) into their everyday practices by unpacking those categories through which these actions and routines are being classed and represented and challenging the normative regimes and discursive attributions through of which these categories are composed (e.g. "good, healthy mackerel", "good liver pâté").

The analysis of Transcript 4 shows how the same analytical assessment is carried out in relation to another aspect of transnational networking and another facet of transnational conduct already addressed in this discussion – the construction of national attachments through transnational associations. In following and examining the details of discursive and conversational organization through which this interactional event was accomplished I demonstrated that the on-going stretching and compressing of relational nexuses to, beyond and across particular national (Russian, German, Polish, etc.), meta-national (European, Baltic) territories and memberships, which I identified as one of the aspects of transnational networking, is recognized by the actors as one of their quotidian living tactics.

I argue that it is through this enacting of diverse social and discursive strategies of transnational networking intertwined with reflecting upon these methods of making and categorizing practices, social arrangements and belongingness, that transnational conduct is being established, routinized and negotiated and transnational mentality is being rationalized and reproduced. As demonstrated in

the course of the analysis and as highlighted in the discussion carried out in this chapter this transnational rationale is not a way of acting, interacting and making sense of everyday, concerns, actions and orders, which is independent of other methods of making and thinking about the realities. As my analysis unequivocally shows, the networking on which transnational conduct and mentality rely is mediated by a multitude of banal actions, interactions and routines involved in the everyday practices of which the actors' lives are made up. It is intertwined as well with diverse genres that represent and govern these practices (promotional, institutional, commercial, legislative) and diverse aspects of identity which are enacted through these practices (such as doing being a migrant, or doing being a parent).

What this entails is that when transnational networking is being carried out by the actors through the multitude of their everyday actions and interactions, transnational rationale (conduct and mentality) established, negotiated and reproduced through the discursive and social mechanisms of transnational networking, become disseminated within and begin to administrate the genres on which the mundane practices mediating transnational networking rely and of the aspects of identity that are constructed through these practices. That is, when transnational networking is stabilized in the actors' everyday practices into particular ways of acting and strategizing diverse social arrangements and doings (transnational conduct) and when it is rationalized in the actors' daily interaction into a particular mentality (transnational mentality) it becomes one of those complex techniques and procedures through which the actors exercise knowing and directing diverse aspects of realities (things, meanings and resources) and through which they regulate diverse aspects of their identities – i.e. it begins to figure as transnational governmentality.

The examination of actors' interaction carried out in the previous chapter shows this governmentality at work. For instance, in relation to the analysis of Transcript 3 I make visible how in the course of their interaction the actors invoke the interdiscursive chain made up at the intersection of legal, educational, familial and prandial genres ("language school, attainment of the permit", "Danish men") through making relevant a particular aspect of prandial practice -*tvorog* - to formulate the categories of "them" and "us", "newcomers" and those "who has been here already", "here" and "there" as well as to ascribe and re-ascribe their belonging to these categories. That is, I demonstrate the ways in which complex discursive and interdiscursive constructions are mobilized to organize and to make sense of associations which transgress the interaction orders, discursive frameworks and practices within which these constructions are produced – the mechanism of

transnational networking, which I describe as transdiscursivity and which the participants of the interaction event in focus employ in the construction of nuanced formulation of migrant membership category and of a particular stage of migrant career and in the enactment of their identification with or from these aspects of migrant identities.

Similarly, the analysis of Transcript 6 uncovers how doing being a parent is being enacted and articulated across national memberships. By unpacking the use of membership categorization device by the participants of the conversation represented in the transcript, I display and examine the ways in which subtle ethnification (Day, 1998) is accomplished and resisted in relation to the identity negotiation and through the discursive mechanisms of transnational networking identified earlier. More precisely, I make visible how doing being a parent is constructed and assessed through ascriptions to membership categories such as nationality, ethnicity, migrant status and otherness and how these ascriptions are resisted and subverted by invoking the associated with these categories and normalized collections of discursive features and activities assembled at the intersection of child-rearing and prandial discourses (e.g. “NORMAL food”, feeding a child “red caviar with big spoons” or not feeding a child with bread). Apart from demonstrating how the mechanisms of transnational networking are at work when the actors act and are acted upon in the construction of their identities, i.e. how transnational governmentality is involved in regulating identities of the social members, the analytical segment in focus also makes visible how diverse praxes of societal enterprises (such as food-related routines in child-care institutions) become contested by and negotiated with the transnational rationale.

In the same way, the analysis of the discursive descriptions on the labels of the products available in the “Russian” shop in Aalborg (see Images 24, 25, 26), another site of actors’ engagement around which my ethnographic work of organized, exhibits how another discursive mechanism of transnational networking, interdiscursivity, is involved in the organizing of another aspect of societal functioning – commercial relations. By examining how within the framework of these descriptions the meaning is constructed across multiple forms of modality (written and visual language), I made visible the incorporation of the discursive constructions and acts of nostalgic re-imagining (e.g. “the familiar taste from your childhood”), which the actors mobilize to produce and to invoke the categories representing familiar, shared temporally and spatially distant aspects of realities, within the promotional genres that serve industrial and commercial structures. What this analytical segment demonstrates is that transnational living is not organised on the separate scales

of economic, social and personal but through the networking of genres on which these aspects of realities rely (such as promotional genres, hypermedia genre, genres of social interaction) mediated by the circulation of meanings, categories and discursive constructs across these genres.

Thus, based on the analytical inferences presented in the previous chapter, I proposed to address transnational living as dialectics of transnational networking and of transnational logics and conduct that are negotiated, stabilized and rationalized through the mechanisms of this networking and that are involved in regulating the everyday practices by which it is mediated. In the next section, I continue to discuss the findings of my research and the aspects of transnational dynamics that I claim these findings to indicate.

### III. TRANSNATIONAL NETWORKING AND TRANSNATIONAL SEMIOTIC LANDSCAPE

I believe that the dissemination of the discursive repertoire with which transnational mentality operates across diverse sites of societal organization and its embeddedness in the marketing strategies, demonstrated above, is symptomatic of another transnational tendency – the branding of transnational living. I argue that this branding takes place through the patterning of a new semiotic landscape, i.e. a new order of indexicality and modes of its activation (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010) surfacing with the intensifying clarity in the contemporary map of sociolinguistic reality – *transnational semiotic landscape*. Multiple analytical findings at which I arrived in the course of the examination carried out in the previous chapter point at the emergence of this landscape by uncovering the ways in which its diverse elements come together in mediating transnational networking and organizing and sustaining transnational associations.

For instance, the analysis of the discursive descriptions on the products available in the “Russian” shop (see Images 30 and 31) demonstrate how the transnational semiotic landscape is formed within the physical framework of the trading environment (the “Russian” shop) at the intersection of a context of human actions such as prandial practices, of socio-political activities such as cross-border commercial relations and of symbolic systems of signifiers such as linguistic systems (Latin and Cyrillic alphabet, Russian and German languages), which are associated with diverse national and meta-national (Western European, Eastern European, the Baltics, etc.) contexts, transliteration code, which affords meaning production across these linguistic systems through the mutual incorporation

of their resources (such as reproduction of phonetic combinations of one language with the alphabet and morphology of another), and visual resources (lay out, use of graphics and colour), through which the discursive constructs produced through the aforementioned signifiers and their diverse affordances become linked and anchored within each other. This mode of meaning making, which cuts across not only diverse semiotic fields (visual, written, verbal languages) but also across diverse linguistic systems and related to them national, meta-national and cultural terrains and which I describe as transnational semiotic landscape, is a re-occurring and recognizable feature that sets apart the products specifically designed to imagine particular national, cultural, religious, historical frames of belonging beyond the political, linguistic and temporal contexts with which they are associated marking them as a distinct merchandise brand.

Apart from the aforementioned commercial signs, how the socio-economic place in focus is made through the resources of transnational semiotic landscape becomes visible in the numerous “private signs” (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010) with which the actors claim this place their own, such as material tokens of national memberships (Russian and Ukrainian flags, vodka in a bottle that features Matryoshka, samovar or a doll in a Rumanian folk costume (see Images 36, 37, 38)), the shop sign displaying its name, “Sadko”, that alludes to the Russian folk epics. This use of the iconography of banal nationalism is a way of stretching particular national, ethnic and cultural attachments into new spatialities outside the geographic-political borders of these memberships. The analysis of discursive mechanisms of transnational networking that focuses on the actors’ interaction within another site of their engagement – the computer-mediated social place Rusforum – reveals the same orders of indexicality and their uses that I highlighted and discussed above. These orders are formed at the intersection between the signs that implicitly mark the place in terms of national loyalties, such as the iconic flagging (Billig, 1995) illustrated in the Images 39, 40, and those symbolic systems and their uses that cut across socio-political contexts, such as hyperlinking (see Figure 17) and transliteration code (e.g. “маман”, Excerpt 7, “по тильбуду”, Figure 15).

It is this re-occurring orders of indexicality is what puts the signs, linguistic and symbolic systems associated with different, national, cultural and historical terrains “in aggregate”, i.e. in interaction with each other (Scollon & Scollon, 2003, p. 23). It is also these re-occurring semiotic orders and their uses, which I refer to as the transnational semiotic landscape, which put transnational networking “in place” (Scollon & Scollon, 2003). That is, I argue that the transnational semiotic landscape impregnates the products of transnational networking (discursive constructs,

interdiscursive, intersemiotic and transdiscursive connectivities that I identified through my investigation) into the physical spatiality and into materiality of places (shops signs, labelling of merchandise, website layout, etc.) of our living environments, making transnational networking (and transnational conduct and mentality that this networking mediates and sustains) durable and context-like. This transnational dialectics (transnational networking, transnational semiotic landscape, transnational governmentality and the dialogical relationship between them ‘in discourse’ and ‘in place’) is established and sustained across numerous semiotic fields, physical places and social sites around which the actors’ lives are organized. Tracing, mapping out and discussing this dialectics which I accomplished in course of this research project would not have been possible without the on-going ethnographic and analytical movement between these “lived spaces” (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010, p. 7).

#### **IV. THE ROLE OF HYPERMEDIA IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF TRANSNATIONAL NETWORKING**

One of the spaces encompassed in this movement (strategized through the methods of ethnography of practice and of multimodal socio-semiotic discourse analysis developed in Chapter 3 of the thesis and discussed earlier in the current chapter) is a computer-mediated social place, Rusforum. The overwhelming majority of the recent social and socio-linguistic studies exhibit theoretical, methodological and empirical attention to the “the enabling or supportive technology” (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 2) and materiality of the social orders and practices that they seek to examine. The rise and the rapid development of digital technologies in general, and computer-mediated communication technologies powered by the Internet in particular, awakens extensive and growingly sophisticated and profound interest within diverse scholarly schools of thought in the “outlines of the complicated changes in social interactions” and of social change brought about through the interactions and actions mediated by these new forms of media (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 139). This interest is particularly strongly reflected in the works of such authors as Carey Jewitt (Jewitt, 2004), Susan Herring (1996; 1996; 2008), Rick Iedema (2001; 2003), Jay Lemke (2002; 2008), Paul McIlvenny and Pirkko Raudaskoski (2005), Sigrid Norris (2005), Ron and Suzie Scollon (2004) on which I rely in my investigation.

As the theoretical review of transnational research presented in Chapter 2 of the thesis demonstrates, in line with the other perspectives of social studies, transnational scholarship increasingly begins to include in its empirical scope “an emerging ‘network sociality’” (McIlvenny & Raudaskoski, 2005, p. 60) supported by Internet technologies (Appadurai, 1996, De Mul, 2002, as cited in Gielis, 2009, Vertovec, 1999; Van den Bos & Nell, 2006; Wilding, 2006) which broadens the range of transnational experiences and forms of transnational connections that become captured analytically and theoretically. However, as this review also demonstrates, some of the aforementioned studies are carried out within the diasporic communities perspective and either view transnational “virtual neighbourhoods” (Appadurai, 1996) as representing or mirroring the “offline communal patterns” (Van Den Bos & Nell, 2006, p. 216; De Mul, 2002, as cited in Gielis, 2009, p. 281) or as disembedded, sovereign or “partially sovereign” (Van den Bos & Nell, 2006) spaces disconnected from their physical counterparts. Both clusters of analytical inferences are grounded in and reproduce the vision of social geographies as split along the on-line/off-line divide, thereby, overlooking the intense, dense and continuous connecting between computer-mediated and face-to-face social interactions mediated by the circulation of meanings, discourses and actions which the human actors generate and maintain in the course of their everyday practices and engagements.

One of the contributions of my research consists in taking the studies of computer-mediated transnational arrangements and relations beyond the conceptual confines of ‘community’ and ‘place’ defined as closed social localities, in tracing ethnographically the above-highlighted discursive, semiotic and experiential connecting that interlinks places and interactions made and enacted digitally and through other forms of media and of materiality as well as in making visible analytically how the actors employ this connecting and its enormous potential for meaning-making in organizing and re-organizing of transnational living. This was achieved, firstly, by introducing the concept of transnational networking, which as discussed earlier in this chapter re-thinks and opens up the theorization of transnationality to take in the variety and complexity of practices and places through which and across which transnational associations are assembled and sustained, destabilized and re-arranged. Secondly, I strategized the way of tracking and registering the aforementioned connecting, i.e. the circulation of interaction orders, discourses and actions by which it is mediated, that I describe as the ethnography of practice and that enabled me to identify and circumference the loose and shifting ties that the actors construct across diverse computer-mediated and co-present sites of their engagement and that sustain the nexus of practice within which my examination of transnational mobility took place. Finally, I approached the analytical



examination of computer-mediated interaction events accessed and registered in the course of the aforementioned ethnographic following through the notion of hypermodality.

To be more exact, while the general tactics of transnational research, whose empirical attention is directed at computer-mediated social spaces, resides in showing *the making of transnational communities* – the task that presupposes the inward analytical focus and that seeks to trace how transnational relations are being socially *enfolded*, my analytical focus consists in uncovering *the making of meaning* – the research strategy that embraces numerous, multi-sequential, intersecting traversals (Lemke, 2002, p. 300) along which transnational associations are *unfolded* by the actors and which I capture through examining multiple, potential and explicit links between word-, image- and sound-based semiotic artefacts that organise meaning construction practices as complex webs (Lemke, 2002, p. 300) – i.e. through examining the functioning of *hypermedia*. I see this mobilization of the analytical affordances of the notion of hypermedia for the study of transnational mobility and the theoretical-methodological developments supporting this mobilization as one of the innovative moments of this study that enabled me to make visible that, contrary to what seems to be becoming a somewhat common-place assumption in transnational research, transnational arrangements, activities and relations that are supported by hypermedia are neither unique formats of social engagement exclusive to “on-line” spaces nor mere reproductions or extensions of “off-line” communities (Van den Bos & Nell, 2006). In fact, a number of analytical findings, at which I arrived as a result of the examination carried out in the previous chapter, demonstrate that whatever actions, interaction orders and practices are involved in the construction and reproduction of a particular set of transnational connections take place at the interface between computer-mediated and face-to-face sites of interaction and between multiple semiotic fields and forms of media as opposed to merely either on-line or off-line.

For instance, in Chapter 4 of the thesis I demonstrated how the actors’ actions and interaction orders stretch across face-to-face (Rusmam/the Russian school, the “Russian” shop in Aalborg) and computer-mediated (Rusforum) social and physical sites forming and sustaining the nexus of practice within which my examination of transnational networking took place. This becomes particularly visible in relation to the making of Rusmam/the Russian school. In the account of the ethnographic and analytical work through which I identified and navigated the nexus of practice in focus, I mapped out the traversals made up by the actors’ actions, interaction events and orders through which the interactions and activities of Rusmam and the Russian school are brought about

and sustained. These socially-made trajectories are linked to numerous interaction events that took place on Rusforum in relation to the discussion of diverse everyday concerns and challenges (linguistic, pedagogical, bureaucratic, etc.) and within which Rusmam emerged as an “idea” or “initiative” about the possibility of making “the group” for the “Russian-Danish”, “Russian-speaking” or “Russian-understanding” children and their parents. As I proceeded in tracing and making tangible the circumference (Scollon & Scollon, 2004) of this site of actors’ interaction, I was making increasingly visible the thick and dynamic connecting between the computer-mediated and co-present sites across which the nexus of practice is formed. This connecting is enabled by multiple resemiotizations and remediations of the actions and inscriptions that the actors enact and produce as they engage in these sites. One of these resemiotizational chains is related to the making of the Russian school that involved multiple shifts of modalities: from the discursive subject in the actors’ co-present conversations to the topic of technology-mediated temporarily and spatially dispersed telephone conversations and e-mail exchanges (between Rusmam members, potential teachers, etc.), to a material format of a hand-written announcement pinned on the wall of the “Russian” shop in Aalborg, to an on-line announcement on the website of the Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg<sup>93</sup> and a discussion topic on Rusforum<sup>94</sup>, etc.

Furthermore, the preliminary analysis of actors’ interaction carried out in Chapter 4 makes visible how diverse aspects of realities are being represented and made sense of at the intersection between computer-mediated and co-present interaction contexts by mapping out the circulation of discourses across these contexts (prandial discourses and discourses of child-care). Later in the thesis, in the course of the main analytical examination represented in Chapter 7, I continued tracking and unpacking the aforementioned discursive interconnecting by demonstrating the circulation of more subtle discursive and interdiscursive constructs – the membership categories that the actors construct and invoke in representing and organizing diverse aspects of realities and of their identities. Such membership categories assembled and reproduced across diverse sites of actors’ engagement, computer-mediated and co-present, and through different forms of modalities and materialities, include, for instance, the categories representing and classing the familiar, temporally and spatially distant points of reference. The analysis of discursive descriptions illustrated in images 24, 25 and 26 and of the interaction which took place within the framework of Rusforum’s

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<sup>93</sup> <<http://www.dkrus-aalborg.dk>>

<sup>94</sup> <<http://rusforum.dk/index.php?showtopic=14802>>

discussion topics<sup>95</sup> (Excerpts 14-28, Figure 15) demonstrate how the collection and reproduction of complex and dynamics lists of meanings, symbols, accounts and experiences through which these categories are made unfolds across interactions and inscriptions generated and supported by Internet and through other forms of technologies, media and materialities.

Similarly, the construction of interdiscursive chains, which link cultural, linguistic and national contexts and membership categories, invoked through the associated with them elements of prandial practices (such as “our”, “Russian food”), with the normative regimes (“good”, “normal”, “real”) and with the category-bound activities and features framed by diverse discourses (“wholesome”, “healthy”, “natural”) and which I mapped out in relation to the analysis of Excerpts 38, 39 and Transcripts 3, 4, 5, uncovers that the making of meanings and the making of transnational connections categorized and evaluated with these meanings are not confined to specific spaces, whether digital or physical, but are carried out at the interface between them. Another collection of analytical segments that point out at this dispersed and semiotically diverse spatiality on which meaning-making practices rely are related to the examination of the role of such aspect of prandial practices as *tvorog*. As demonstrated in the course of the examination of multiple face-to-face (e.g. Transcript 3, 4) and computer-mediated (e.g. Excerpt 32-37) conversational events, within the framework of the actors’ interaction, *tvorog* figures as a *boundary object* – i.e. as a pragmatic discursive construction that does not represent a specific “transcendent truth” but that does “the job required” (Bowker & Star, 2000, p. 152). In circulating across diverse conversational events, this discursive object shifts between taking on the characteristics of a medical cure, beauty product, sport and diet product and between being positioned as a criterion of good mothering, of acceptable, approved child-care, as an expression of cultural difference as well as a phase in migrant career. In doing so, it also serves as the node that links together multiple discursive framework, interactional contexts and those semiotic and physical spaces (computer-mediated or not) within and across which these interactions take place.

Writing this topography of spatial and semiotic connections and making it progressively more detailed and thick became possible through the analysis of the ways in which the actors employ the immense and rich array of meaning-making resources afforded by hypermedia. Apart from making visible how transnational networking is enacted and sustained by the actors across diverse semiotic, physical and social sites of their engagement, this examination also contributed to knowing those

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<sup>95</sup> <<http://rusforum.dk/index.php?showtopic=14855>>

“tremendously powerful structural regularities” (Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998, p. 5) through which computer-mediated interaction is carried out and which are produced and re-produced through the linkages between multiple and distributed textual units and sequences, hypertextuality, through the linkages between diverse forms of modality (written, visual, audial), hypermodality, as well as through powerful organizational devices that enable this ongoing, multisequential and interactive linking (hyperlinks, action buttons, search engines, elements of lay out, etc.) (Lemke, 2002). In tracing and discussing this multimodal and hypertextual connecting, I demonstrated how the aspects of the meaning-making practices supported by hypermedia such as the use of static, animated and graphic emoticons and their illocutionary function (Excerpt 17), transliteration (illustrated earlier in this chapter), orthographic and grammatical deviations from the standard use of written language (Excerpts 20, 39), syntactic signs (Excerpt 39) and hyperlinks (Excerpts 36, 37, 40, Figure 17) participate in the construction of meaning that both crosses and transgresses the ideational and symbolic borders of national and cultural belongingness.

The analysis of Excerpt 40 and Figure 17 make visible how powerful hypermedial resources are in their ability to subvert the discursive monologism (such as categorizations and subtle evaluations of particular aspects of realities (prandial practices) as familiar, shared, normal etc.) and turn it into “a field of heteroglossia” (Lemke, 2002) (by associating these practices with a different sets of connections and different memberships) in a way that is instant and economical, and potentially infinitely reproducible and incessant (a hyperlink). Moreover, this analytical segment illustrates how skilfully and routinely the actors make use of this ability in the construction of transnational networking. As Ron Scollon repeatedly highlighted in his writings, discourse and technology are inseparable (Scollon & Levine, 2004; 2004). Furthermore, he emphasized by quoting Nietzsche that “our writing tools are also working on our thoughts” (Scollon & Levine, 2004, p. 1) and that how discourses are technologized, materialized and mediated affects both their construction and the social change triggered and brought about by these discourses (2004). This dialectical relationship between the confluence of discourse and technology and the making of the social allows me to reason that while, as argued above, the acts of transnational networking mediated by hypermedia are neither unique nor confined to the computer-mediated interactional contexts and places, the rich and continuously and rapidly evolving capacity of hypermodal genres and computer-mediated communication for stretching, potentially infinitely, any meaning and any relational nexus beyond the discursive, symbolic, national and cultural spatialities with which they are associated make

these genres and this media format particularly suitable for constructing, sustaining and administrating transnational connections.

Moreover, while in chronological terms and in common perception, hypermedia still holds the status of novelty, the frequency with which it is used and the multitude of practices in which it is used rapidly turns it into an everyday phenomenon. This entails that the particulars such as where it was first invented and implemented, how we learn to use it and what are the exact scope and repercussions of this use are gradually beginning to “sink into invisibility” and become naturalized through “phylogenesis amnesia” – “collective loss of memory” of having learned practice (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 3). What I believe to be one of the implications of this naturalization of the computer-mediated practices is that as hypermedia use and technologies become more and more “embedded into the matrix of our societies” (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 3), so do their affordances, in-built potentialities and the modes and patterns of thinking, acting and interacting to which these affordances and potentialities predispose. That is, I argue that as hypermedia genres are particularly suitable for the construction and sustaining of transnational connections and arrangements, the naturalization of these genres and their increasing embeddedness in the social life and societal functioning leads to the naturalization and embeddedness of transnational ways of life.

## **V. ETHICAL AND PRAGMATIC ASPECTS OF EPISTEMOLOGICAL CONTRIBUTIONS**

As this chapter demonstrates, the empirical and analytical scope of the investigation presented in this dissertation is both extensive and varied. This investigation captures actions and agencies, places and materials, genres and technologies that are diverse, dispersed and diffused both spatially, temporally, and semiotically. In following and mapping out the linkages between these numerous empirical and analytical nodes, the research discussed in this chapter “invents new kinds of information and evidence, applies existing investigative approaches in novel ways, and designs novel research tools and approaches with which to analyze, explain, and interpret transnational phenomena and dynamics” (Khagram & Levitt, 2008, p. 28). This investigation and this research praxis required from me a great deal of commitment – personal involvement, genuine engagement and time. More than anything, it required from me, as well as being an academic, to also be a practitioner. Organizing and carrying out the research practice of the aforementioned empirical and analytical scope was, not surprisingly, accompanied by a hard set of ethical and pragmatic issues. In

line with Khagram & Levitt's appeal to transnational studies to reject "the false neutrality characterizing much scholarship" (2008, p. 32), within the framework of my investigation, I chose to embrace rather than to shy away from these matters by means of a systematic, explicit and reflective discussion throughout the project of the existing scholarly praxes in relation to them as well as, and even more importantly, of my own choices made with regard to these problematic questions, the theoretical and meta-theoretical reasoning behind these decisions and their implications for diverse aspects of my research and for people involved in it.

One set of such concerns is related to the challenges of registering and representing multimodal translated data of which my archive is composed. As emphasized in Chapter 5, some scholars insist that collecting, preserving and representing "what people say and do" (Moerman, 1988, p. 8) consists in the "authentic" (Ehlich, 1993, p. 124) reproduction of the "'actual details'" (Silverman, 1998, p. 61) "as close to the original as possible" (Ehlich, 1993, p. 124). In contrast to this perspective and, in line with Jane Edwards' argument (1993), within the framework of my research I argued that no data presentation can be claimed to be neutral, identical replication of the original material free of the bias inflicted by the theoretical, technical, circumstantial and personal contexts within which it has been recorded, preserved and presented. However, explicit consideration and systematic account of the underlying assumptions of the chosen representational mode and their implications for the research do compensate for the "unwanted biases" (Edwards, 1993, p. 4) that are inevitably at work whenever we attempt to access, freeze in time and space and interpret "actual occurrences in their actual sequence" (Sacks, 1984, p. 25, as cited in Silverman, 1998, p. 61).

It is through this detailed account and discussion of the challenges of and solutions to giving voice to the non-English data in the context of the English-speaking research and to capturing in ethnographic work and transferring into the analytical work the semiotic and modal richness of this data that I developed the situated, interpretative, interaction-oriented, multimodal approach to data presentation that allowed me to handle, to represent and to visualize the research materials in a way that is clear, readable and manageable and that is apt for the analytical framework of my investigation and its objectives. While I neither claim this approach to be universally applicable nor flawless I believe that it contributes to the collective scholarly accumulation of an epistemological toolbox and of analytical experiences on which the future research with the similar (multimodal and multilingual) empirical focus can draw.

Another set of issues that I had to confront in the course of my investigation involves the matters of researcher responsibilities and ethical considerations – i.e. the tasks and challenges connected to recognizing and addressing “ethically important moments” (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004) and commitment to “doing right” (Thomas, 1996, p. 107) in these moments and by those people who let me into their lives and entrusted me with the personal and intimate details of these lives. There are two aspects of my research that proved to be most challenging in ethical terms. One is related to the highly participant-centred and long-term character of my ethnographic work, strategizing and carrying out which was accompanied by a number of ethical questions connected with the researcher-participant relationship and extensively addressed in Chapter 6 of this dissertation. The multi-sited character of my field work, the loose and fluid circumference of these sites and of the interaction orders that sustain them, the rejection of the analytical distance between the researcher and the participants and of the researcher-monopolised format of knowing, the assumption of the impossibility of the research objectivity defined as researcher’s impartiality and neutrality and of the assumption of the possibility of multiple social realities and, thus, different ways of understanding and describing the scope of my project and different expectations with regard to it, etc. – all these aspects of the ontological and empirical framework of my research raised numerous ethical questions which I had to tackle long before the ‘Informed Consent’ form (often viewed as the central, if not the single, method of realizing researcher responsibility) was devised and long after it was signed by the participants.

Another ethically-challenging element of my investigation concerns the computer-mediated site of my ethnographic work, Rusforum. The relatively novel character of computer-mediated communication research and the complex and rapidly shifting character of the technologies, genres and practices within which this research is engaged result in the fact that, as such authors as Jim Thomas (1996), Susan Herring (1996) and Dennis Waskul (1996) point out, the discussions of ethical research behavior in relation to CMC are preyed by acute disagreements. In concrete terms, it means, that there are simply no clear-cut, established, more or less harmonized guidelines for researcher behavior in the computer-mediated social spaces. This entails that in deciding how to realize universal ethical requirements for research practice such as “do no harm”, “beneficence” “respect for persons” (Thomas, 1996, pp. 110-111), in deciding what is “right” and what is “fair”, whether I should treat the social place in focus as a public or as a private space, whether I should maintain the anonymity of my identity as a researcher on Rusforum and whether and how I should ensure the anonymity of its participants, etc., I could not draw on the established and verified set of



formal rules. Instead, to handle both arrays of ethical concerns delineated above I developed an approach to realizing ethical and researcher responsibility based on the principles of what I describe in Chapter 6 as ethical mindfulness.

As demonstrated in this Chapter, these principles include authenticity, imaginative reflexivity and contextuality and involve recognising and making systematically transparent one's partiality in a research, exercising reflexively "strong imaginative powers" (Baarts, p. 434) to predict political and relational consequences of one's own involvement, being honest with oneself and with the research collaborators about political and scientific values of the research project in focus, its goals, motivation behind it, etc. and addressing all of the aforementioned ethical aspects through an on-going dialog with the research participants. I believe that in formulating and exercising this approach to realizing ethical and researcher responsibility I contribute to the shift from "informative to performative ethnography" (Fabian, 1990, as cited in Broome, Carey, De La Carza, Martin, & Morris, 2005, p. 158) and to the development of the engaged and action-oriented scholarship. Through the active personal involvement with the activities, engagements and communities of the people participating in my research, through establishing a dialogic relationship with them, through committing to applying my personal and academic skills and abilities to do no harm and to serve positively to these communities, through genuine and profound interest in the issues of my study and attention to the political and public implications of these issues, I exploit the potential of my research for knowing the social in a way that encourages the positive social change.

## VI. CHAPTER SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

I started this chapter with a short illustration of how the conceptualization of transnational living, which falls behind and outside the ways in which the people engaged in this living experience it and how they rationalize these experiences, prevent the initiatives and arrangements supporting and administrating transnational relations that draw on this conceptualization from becoming a part of the conduct and mentality of the social members whom these initiatives and governing strategies target.

Later in the chapter, I delineated and discussed the theoretical and methodological framework which I build up in the course of my investigation around the concept of transnational networking

and which allowed me to organize and to accomplish the knowing of the methods through which the actors enact and make sense of transnational experiences and which, as highlighted in this thesis, are not captured by the established transnational rhetoric.

Finally, I have gathered and discussed the analytical findings at which I arrived through the examination of the social and discursive aspects of the aforementioned methods and mechanisms through which transnational networking becomes organised and represented. Moreover, I formulated and critically reflected on the elements and tendencies of transnational dynamics which I claim are indicated in these findings. In doing so, I proposed the view on transnational dialectics that is built around and that highlights the dialogical relationship between transnational networking, whose conceptual boundaries and mechanisms I examined and discussed in this project, transnational conduct and mentality, which rely on these mechanisms and which are rationalized in the actors' accounts and descriptions, and transnational governmentality, which captures the ways in which transnational networking participates in organizing and administering diverse aspects of social realities and diverse aspects of actors' identities. Finally, I argued that the transnational networking is put 'in place', made durable and context-like part of our living environments through transnational semiotic landscape. I believe that this way of understanding transnational dialectics and of organizing its knowing represents a sophisticated alternative to addressing and studying transnational living and transnational governmentality which uncovers and makes comprehensible the transnational ways of life, allows to predict how they evolve and which is, therefore, suitable for assessing the existing strategies and for developing new strategies and approaches to transnational governance.

## CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSIONS

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In this chapter I want to look back on the personal and scholarly journey which led to this thesis. As with many current scholarly explorations of transnational phenomena, through this journey I sought to push forward the frontiers of the transnational field of research. This is certainly not because the existing approaches within this field are unqualified for dealing with transnational matters, and even more certainly not because the human and societal problematics and dynamics made visible by these directions are no more relevant or observable in the social matrix, but simply because transnational ways of life are far too complex, too dynamic and too messy to be captured by any single ready-made set of concepts and analytical strategies. If academic thought and inquiry is to keep up with the density of transnational encounters and associations and with the intensity with which they evolve and expand, there is a need in a constant and continuous search for new possibilities of knowing, understanding and talking about transnational mobility, transnational living and transnational modes of constructing and enacting human identities. Moreover, if scholarly explorations are to grasp yet unknown (emerging or established but undiscovered) sites and facets of transnational dynamics, these alternatives ideally should be able not only to spot and examine the already identified building-blocks of transnational realities but, first and foremost, stay receptive both theoretically and analytically to the multitude and diversity of yet uncovered articulations, meanings and mechanisms involved in the making of these realities. These aspects of transnational dynamics, which still remain to be examined and discussed, might not necessarily fit with and within the established conceptualizations of transnationality.

It is therefore, within the framework of this investigation, that I work at expanding transnational inquiry in the direction of everyday social practice and interaction in which transnational living and transnational attachments are organized and sustained. It is also, therefore, both the conceptual and the methodological framework developed in this investigation that are fine-tuned to trace, map out and unpack transnational associations as they are being made and re-made, enacted and challenged, categorized and oriented towards or away from by the social actors as they engage in their everyday actions and interactions. Theoretically this is achieved through the notion of transnational networking around which my investigation of transnational complexities is organized. With this notion I articulate transnational dynamics not as a collection of essentially transnational units, structures and spaces but as a type of social and discursive connecting through which places,

practices, aspects of identities and societal arrangements (that are not transnational in themselves and not necessarily associated with national belongingness) become performed transnationally - represented, categorized and enacted across and beyond symbolic and geo-political national terrains.

Methodologically, I develop an approach to following and analysing this multifaceted and multimodal connecting that is apt for capturing the finest and most unremarkable details of the social and discursive mechanisms and methods through which it is enabled, enacted and accounted. By focusing on the different types of linking that are involved in transnational networking and that intertwine into complex knots and nodes diverse technologies, semiotic fields, forms of modality and media, discursive frameworks, physical places, social orders, materialities, normative regimes, genres, societal enterprises, etc., this multimodal, social-semiotic, discourse approach makes it possible to uncover how the transnational phenomena, which appear to be accomplished, context-like, and agency-deprived, in fact, undergo continuous and active construction in the actors' practices and interactions.

As the discussion presented in the previous chapter demonstrates, the proposed way of conceptualizing and examining transnational living and transnational memberships does provide fresh and interesting insights into transnational dynamics, which are potentially useful for both scholarly and public initiatives interested in understanding, assisting and administering transnational ways of life. For example, based on the analytical findings of the research I demonstrated that the categories and memberships through which social members organize their lives and their belongingness and which within the framework of conventional transnational rhetoric are thought of as closed, complete and solid national or cultural containers ('home' and 'host', 'original' and 'receiving' societies), are in fact neither fixed, nor accomplished prior to the actors' interactions and actions, nor entirely national. In my examination I established that transnational attachments are constructed and sustained not from one national terrain (whether symbolic or geo-political) to another, but across the dynamic and compound collections of accounts, experiences, knowledges, meanings and symbols that the actors construct and continuously re-negotiate in the course of their interaction and in relation to their everyday concerns and engagements. The items listed under these collections are wrapped up in and intertwined with a multitude of personal and familial routines, social arrangements, daily concerns and actions that in

themselves dispersed in time and in space and across numerous practices and doings, which are performed through these actions and routines.

What this means for the understanding of how the actors' identities and lives are organized transnationally is that it uncovers the acts of remembering and elements of nostalgic rhetoric, commonly viewed as manifestations of and evidences to the loss or disentanglement from particular points of reference, particular cultural routines and regimes of acting, as being a part of active and prolific categorization and memory work through which these points, routines and regimes are *constructed* (and not just *transported* into the new living contexts as neat, closed packages) and mobilized to make sense of and to organize the arrangements and engagements immediately relevant to the actors' lives. Moreover it makes visible that the collections of accounts, experiences, feelings, values and norms that make up and mark particular membership categories become incorporated and embedded within each other, networking the actions and practices across the time-space divide. This entails that transnational mobility does not break or split but rather stretches and complicates the attachments to whatever meanings, sensory experiences, cultural resources, etc. the actors categorize as familiar and shared and that transnational living and belongingness are organized through the on-going networking of these categories with new relational nexuses.

Furthermore, in the course of my investigation I demonstrated that this networking takes place in association with diverse practices in which the actors engage in the course of their everyday lives and in association with doings through which they negotiate and enact diverse aspects of their identities and that these practices and identity dimensions are neither national nor transnational until the social members articulate, perform and administer them as such. This realization allowed me to question the legitimacy of addressing social conduct and realities through the 'national – transnational' binary. Having provided strong analytical evidence of how national memberships are being constructed and/or re-enforced through transnational associations and how transnational relations are organized by invoking the matters of national belongingness, I argued that there are no practices or places that are essentially national or transnational. Any nexus of relations through which a particular practice is organized and sustained and which intertwines discourses, cultural resources and material objects, routines and actions, normative regimes and meanings, etc., can be enacted and articulated nationally and transnationally. That is, it can be accomplished and accounted for through more or less implicit associations with categories that represent and invoke

national belonging, as much as through cutting across symbolic and political borders of nationalities.

Moreover, in the discussion presented in the previous chapter I proposed an alternative vision of transnational dynamics. This vision encourages thinking about transnational living not in terms of dichotomized relationships ('national-transnational', 'here-there', 'micro-macro', 'home-host') but as dialectics that feature a particular way of organizing everyday practices, and which operate through the continuous linking and hybridization, stretching and compressing of nationally- and transnationally-assembled relational nexuses - transnational networking, whose discursive and social mechanisms I examined and discussed in this dissertation. I argue that this transnational dialectics represents one of the complex techniques and procedures through which the actors exercise their knowing and directing diverse aspects of realities (things, meanings and resources) and through which they regulate diverse aspects of their identities. I also claim that this dialectics is put to work when discursive and social mechanisms of transnational networking examined in this investigation become intertwined with other methods of making and thinking about the realities. That is, when transnational networking becomes disseminated within banal actions, interactions and routines involved in the everyday practices of which the actors' lives are made up as well within diverse genres that represent and govern these practices and diverse aspects of identity which are enacted through them, transnational networking becomes stabilized into particular ways of acting and strategizing diverse social arrangements and doings - transnational conduct and rationalized into a particular logics – logics of transnational living.

In addition to articulating how through the dialogic relationship highlighted above the parts of transnational dialectics begin to figure as transnational governmentality, I also uncover how this transnational dialectics is put 'in place'. That is, based on my research findings I argue that currently we are witnessing the emergence and rapid expansion of what I term as transnational semiotic landscape. With this notion I describe the re-occurring orders of indexicality that put the signs, linguistic and symbolic systems associated with different, national, cultural and historical terrains 'in aggregate' and 'in place' (Scollon & Scollon, 2003). I argue that through transnational semiotic landscape, the products of transnational networking (discursive constructs, interdiscursive, intersemiotic and transdiscursive connectivities that I identified through my investigation) become impregnated into the spatiality and materiality of places and of our living environments (both computer-mediated and co-present) making transnational networking durable and context-like.

I believe that by formulating this transnational dialectics and demonstrating how this dialectics is at work in the concrete interactional acts and actions of the actors who produce the matrix of social life, in the places and objects, arrangements and activities that are relevant to these actors and that are associated with diverse societal enterprises I contribute to the accumulation of an intellectual foundation for knowing and understanding transnational realities and complexity of these realities, which is highly sought in the contemporary writings on transnationality and on which future examinations can draw in developing further the transnational scholarly field. As anticipated, this contribution became possible by virtue of inter- and cross-disciplinarity that underpin this investigation. This becomes visible in its methodological framework developed at the intersection between strategies and methods, which are originated within diverse scholarly disciplines (such as ethnomethodology, actor network theory, conversational analysis, discourse analysis, computer-mediated communication theories, critical discourse analysis, website analysis, socio-semiotic analysis) and which I take outside the analytical contexts and practices, for which they were originally intended, in order to bring them together and utilize in a way that gets the analytical work at hand done.

When I weave the analytical findings into a set of claims and arguments later in the dissertation, I also actively and repeatedly explain the aspects and the problematics of transnational discipline with the conceptual and terminological repertoire of other research perspectives, such as infrastructure studies (Bowker & Star, 2000) from which I borrow the notion of boundary object to explain how transnational networking takes place across computer-mediated and co-present sites of actors' engagement. Similarly, the concept of transnational semiotic landscape highlighted earlier in this chapter is formulated within the cross-disciplinary paradigm – by explaining a particular aspect of transnational dialectics with the conceptual repertoire traditionally used by such disciplines as geography, urban studies and social-semiotics.

While such inter- and cross-disciplinary approach has granted me both valuable analytical findings and the possibility to discuss these findings in rich and imaginative ways, it also created certain methodological tensions that are inevitable whenever different terminologies and epistemologies are brought in close, head-on contact. One of such tensions arose from intertwining the methods of social-semiotic, conversation and membership categorization analysis with the views on the function of discourse articulated within critical discourse analysis and from recontextualizing this methodological assemblage within ontological postulates of actor network theory. When I



employed the methods of analysing social interaction, which have the power of bringing the analyst to the numerous and to the most minuscule details of this interaction, together with the idea of discourse meta-functionality, which allows the analytical linking of all these details to an almost infinite amount of discursive frameworks, and when I placed them within the ANT vision of social realities, which sees any aspect of the social as a conglomerate of connections that can be stretched and complicated ceaselessly, I created a methodological framework with a capability for potentially never-ending deepening and extending of the analysis. This means that based on the same data archive - even staying within the same selection of data segment on which I relied in my examination, I could have proceeded with more and more analytical rounds, adding more and more details to the existing analysis as well as expanding this analysis to stretch further the identified intersemiotic and interdiscursive chains to include new interpretations of the same interaction events and inscriptions.

In her work on virtual ethnography, Christine Hine (2000) had to deal with the problem of knowing when to stop the ethnography, which has abandoned the idea of an ethnographic object having natural boundaries. I too had to deal with the problem of knowing when to stop the analysis. Just as for the aforementioned scholar, for me it became a pragmatic as much as methodological decision. That is, apart from the fact that the circumference of my analysis was to some extent shaped by the discourses and categorizations whose circulation I identified in the course of ethnographic work and preliminary analysis, in deciding when to stop the analysis I was also guided by the spatial limits of this monograph and temporal limits of the project. While every research has to tackle such issues, I certainly see the methodological conflict between introducing the conceptual and analytical framework for examining transnational complexity and then cutting off some of this complexity (e.g. not taking in the analysis or stopping to follow particular connections or actions) – a conflict which remains to be fully conceptualized and addressed.

Apart from such methodological tensions, there are other aspects of my research that did not fully live up to the expectations and objectives that I envisaged for it. For instance, in formulating the objectives of my investigation and its place in the heterogeneous field of transnational studies I have strongly positioned it within the post-national paradigm of thinking that seeks to break away from the territorial, nation-centred ways of addressing societal organization and functioning and nationality-centred ways of talking about mobility and social realities. This task proved to be more difficult than I expected. While, as discussed earlier in this chapter, both its theoretical and

methodological framework are fine-tuned to capture how transnational connections transgress national terrains, how they become de-centred away from nation-states and from cultures thought of as territories, throughout the analysis I felt being pulled back to this national rhetoric.

Partially this is due to what Hannerz (1996) describes as the irony of the term ‘transnational’ in its tendency “to draw attention to what it negates” (p. 6). As I launched this project I expected to be able to overcome this tendency by introducing the concept of transnational networking that places focus on how the borders are made porous and transcended and how national attachments are complicated and stretched across and away from these borders. Still, in demonstrating analytically how national terrains are being transgressed, I sometimes ended up showing how they are made because this was how particular aspects of social realities and particular doings were categorized and represented, and enacted by the social actors whose actions and interactions I followed. So that when, in the beginning of my investigation, I anticipated theoretically, transnational networking to operate through the connecting that cuts across national borders, I concluded this investigation with formulating transnational networking as a way of organizing social practices and memberships through the continuous linking and hybridization, stretching and compressing of nationally- and transnationally-assembled relational nexuses.

On the one hand, this shows the strength of my research - that it is able to capture the messiness and the complexity of the social and that there is a place in both the theoretical and the analytical framework that I proposed to deal critically with this unexpected messiness – which is exactly how I set up my examination ontologically and epistemologically. On the other hand, it poses all sorts of questions; those that I sought to tackle in my research and those that rise from the arguments put forward in it, but which will not be solved and resolved in this investigation and which I have to leave to be examined by future scholarly works. For example, to what extend the very framing of any academic perspective and exploration as transnational anchors this exploration in the national and territorial paradigm of thinking and, thereby, impedes its abilities to see the realities beyond the discourse of borders and territories? What would be the adequate way of theorizing research so that it can escape this discourse? How far the academic thought should pursue the attempts to break up with national and territorial rhetoric when the social members continue to mobilize it in their practices and interactions? These questions will be left for later examination.

I also believe that the view of transnational dialectics and transnational governmentality that I proposed as a result of my investigation should be explored further both empirically and

theoretically. While I consider my examination of social and discursive mechanisms of transnational networking to be profound and extensive, there is certainly a need for further investigation of how it is involved in shaping and exercising transnational governmentality. Particularly interesting for such an investigation would be the direction that I indicated in the discussion presented in the previous chapter, which draws attention to the way internally-negotiated strategies and rationales of directing transnational conduct intersect, come into conflict with or become embedded within the regimes and initiatives through which statal and para-statal bodies conduct the conduct of social actors across national borders.

In their work on the construction of transnational studies, Levitt & Khagram (2007) proposed five interacting components for the field of transnational research: empirical, methodological, theoretical, philosophical and public transnationalism, as “a rich menu for research, theory and action”, as “a pentagonal field of possibilities” within which intellection foundation of transnational studies can be formed (pp. 34, 35). As this monograph demonstrates, within the framework of my research I worked through all of the suggested components contributing to the generation of this foundation by developing new theoretical and methodological approaches to addressing transnational complexities, framing transnational inquiry within ontological and epistemological perspectives with which it is not commonly associated, by carrying out an extensive empirical and analytical work and by considering the public implications of the findings at which I arrived as a result of this work. This encompassing, multipart way of organizing transnational inquiry has afforded me many interesting insights into the dynamics of transnational living. It has also presented it me with many pragmatic challenges, methodological tensions, theoretical difficulties some of which I believe I dealt with successfully some of which remain unresolved. It is these contributions and limitations of my research that I highlighted and critically discussed in this chapter. Moreover, I proposed the directions along which I encourage further examination of the questions raised in this monograph and of the problematics addressed in this research.

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## SUMMARY

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Recent decades have been marked by a series of radical transformations that are establishing formats of living that involve increased mobility of humans, capitals, discourses and meanings. The internationalisation of capitalist production and labour policies, the elimination of barriers to the movement of commodities, people, capital and services across national and continental borders, the emergence and fast growth of the Internet as well as other forms of mobile, long-distance communicational technologies, and the expansion of transportation systems, etc. facilitate and escalate extensive and complex connecting between people, places, cultural, discursive and material resources. This intensified and multifaceted mobility causes shifts in the established mechanisms of identity construction by making distant the familiar points of references and disrupting and/or loosening the ties to the spaces of cultural, national and social belongingness involved in the identificational process. This research project is concerned with the implications of transnational mobility for the ways in which social realities are made and organized and human identities are constructed and negotiated.

While much of the research concerned with the “predicaments of the hyphenated-identities” (Visweswaran, 2008) and with transnational attachments through which these identities are constructed is preoccupied with the questions of *what* and *where*, such as: *What* are the transnational societal units and transnational spaces between which transnational shuttling takes place and “where exactly do different types of transnational social spaces actually exist”? (Pries, 2008, p. 3), I am interested in the questions of *how*. *How* do diverse, temporally and geographically dispersed, physical, social, political and symbolic places across which, and in association with which, the lives and the identities of the social actors are organized become intertwined in their mundane acts and actions? *How* does the construction and re-construction of these connections both cut across and transgress the points of references, meanings and experiences through which nationalities, their territories and memberships are “imagined” (Hall, 1992; 2007)? *How* do the discursive and social practices in which the actors engage in the course of their everyday lives, and semiotic fields, technologies, forms of media and modalities enabling these practices, participate in sustaining and challenging, representing and articulating relational networks generated through this construction? And *how* are these networks involved in formulating the aspects of identities and in arranging and making sense of the aspects of realities (normative regimes, social arrangements,

routines and practices) that are not necessarily and not explicitly anchored in national territories and memberships?

Thus, the central objective of my research consists in examining the complexity of transnational dynamics through mapping out, unpacking and critically discussing the on-going discursive and social networking, which the actors carry out in their everyday practices and which takes place at the interface between multiple semiotic, cultural and national sites and associations – what I refer to as transnational networking.

I argue that by moving my inquiry from the realm of the under-defined, ‘macro’, “transcontinental or interregional flows” (Held, McGrew, Goldblatt, & Perraton, 1999, p. 1) and from the constraints of the pre-defined transnational structures into the not nearly as exotic, probably more complex but most certainly rich and dynamic realm of actors’ practices I open it up conceptually to grasp the diversity of human agency, practices and interactions that are involved in and that enable transnational networking. This heterogeneity of transnational experiences might not catch the attention of the studies that start out from the assumption of a particular model of transnational order.

The scope of my research project is concrete and tangible as its empirical focus lies with the concrete and observable actions and interactions of the actors (members of the Russian-speaking community in Northern Jutland) taking place within and across three sites of their engagement: a computer-mediated social space Rusforum, a grocery store “Sadko” (the so-called “Russian” shop in Ålborg) and Rusmam/the Russian school, a network initiated by Russian-speaking parents in 2006. Yet, this project reaches beyond territorial (‘micro’- or ‘locality’- oriented) ways of addressing transnationality, as the empirical work carried out within its framework is concerned not only with capturing how transnational connections are constructed *within* diverse sites across which the actors’ lives are organized and how these actors form attachments to particular, dispersed memberships. The most crucial empirical task of this investigation consists in tracking and making visible how transnational associations are constructed *between* the social, physical and semiotic sites in focus and how these associations are linked to the social arrangements, interaction orders and activities outside the sites and engagements around which the fieldwork is organized.

Within the framework of this investigation I work at expanding transnational inquiry in the direction of everyday social practice and interaction in which transnational living and transnational



attachments are organized and sustained. Therefore, both the conceptual and the methodological frameworks developed in this investigation are fined-tuned to trace, map out and unpack transnational associations as they are being made and re-made, enacted and challenged, categorized and oriented towards or away from by the social actors as they engage in their everyday actions and interactions. Theoretically this is achieved through the notion of transnational networking around which my investigation of transnational complexities is organized. With this notion I articulate transnational dynamics not as a collection of essentially transnational units, structures and spaces but as a type of social and discursive connecting through which places, practices, aspects of identities and societal arrangements (that are not transnational in themselves and not necessarily associated with national belongingness) become performed transnationally -represented, categorized and enacted across and beyond symbolic and geo-political national terrains.

Methodologically, I develop an approach to following and analysing this multifaceted and multimodal connecting that is apt for capturing the finest and most unremarkable details of the social and discursive mechanisms and methods through which it is enabled, enacted and accounted. By focusing on the different types of linking that are involved in transnational networking and that intertwine into complex knots and nodes diverse technologies, semiotic fields, forms of modality and media, discursive frameworks, physical places, social orders, materialities, normative regimes, genres, societal enterprises, etc., this multimodal, social-semiotic, discourse approach makes it possible to uncover how the transnational phenomena, which appear to be accomplished, context-like, and agency-deprived, in fact, undergo continuous and active construction in the actors' practices and interactions.

The proposed way of conceptualizing and examining transnational living and transnational memberships does provide fresh and interesting insights into transnational dynamics, which are potentially useful for both scholarly and public initiatives interested in understanding, assisting and administering transnational ways of life. For example, based on the analytical findings of the research I demonstrated that the categories and memberships through which social members organize their lives and their belongingness and which within the framework of conventional transnational rhetoric are thought of as closed, complete and solid national or cultural containers ('home' and 'host', 'original' and 'receiving' societies), are in fact neither fixed, nor accomplished prior to the actors' interactions and actions, nor entirely national. In my examination I established that transnational attachments are constructed and sustained not from one national terrain (whether

symbolic or geo-political) to another, but across the dynamic and compound collections of accounts, experiences, knowledges, meanings and symbols that the actors construct and continuously re-negotiate in the course of their interaction and in relation to their everyday concerns and engagements. The items listed under these collections are wrapped up in and intertwined with a multitude of personal and familial routines, social arrangements, daily concerns and actions that in themselves dispersed in time and in space and across numerous practices and doings, which are performed through these actions and routines.

What this means for the understanding of how the actors' identities and lives are organized transnationally is that it uncovers the acts of remembering and elements of nostalgic rhetoric, commonly viewed as manifestations of and evidences to the loss or disentanglement from particular points of reference, particular cultural routines and regimes of acting, as being a part of active and prolific categorization and memory work through which these points, routines and regimes are *constructed* (and not just *transported* into the new living contexts as neat, closed packages) and mobilized to make sense of and to organize the arrangements and engagements immediately relevant to the actors' lives. Moreover it makes visible that the collections of accounts, experiences, feelings, values and norms that make up and mark particular membership categories become incorporated and embedded within each other, networking the actions and practices across the time-space divide. This entails that transnational mobility does not break or split but rather stretches and complicates the attachments to whatever meanings, sensory experiences, cultural resources, etc. the actors categorize as familiar and shared and that transnational living and belongingness are organized through the on-going networking of these categories with new relational nexuses.

Furthermore, in the course of my investigation I demonstrated that this networking takes place in association with diverse practices in which the actors engage in the course of their everyday lives and in association with doings through which they negotiate and enact diverse aspects of their identities and that these practices and identity dimensions are neither national nor transnational until the social members articulate, perform and administer them as such. This realization allowed me to question the legitimacy of addressing social conduct and realities through the 'national – transnational' binary. Having provided strong analytical evidence of how national memberships are being constructed and/or re-enforced through transnational associations and how transnational relations are organized by invoking the matters of national belongingness, I argued that there are no practices or places that are essentially national or transnational. Any nexus of relations through

which a particular practice is organized and sustained and which intertwines discourses, cultural resources and material objects, routines and actions, normative regimes and meanings, etc., can be enacted and articulated nationally and transnationally. That is, it can be accomplished and accounted for through more or less implicit associations with categories that represent and invoke national belonging, as much as through cutting across symbolic and political borders of nationalities.

Moreover, I proposed an alternative vision of transnational dynamics. This vision encourages thinking about transnational living not in terms of dichotomized relationships ('national-transnational', 'here-there', 'micro-macro', 'home-host') but as dialectics that feature a particular way of organizing everyday practices, and which operate through the continuous linking and hybridization, stretching and compressing of nationally- and transnationally-assembled relational nexuses - transnational networking, whose discursive and social mechanisms I examined and discussed in this dissertation. I argue that this transnational dialectics represents one of the complex techniques and procedures through which the actors exercise their knowing and directing diverse aspects of realities (things, meanings and resources) and through which they regulate diverse aspects of their identities. I also claim that this dialectics is put to work when discursive and social mechanisms of transnational networking examined in this investigation become intertwined with other methods of making and thinking about the realities. That is, when transnational networking becomes disseminated within banal actions, interactions and routines involved in the everyday practices of which the actors' lives are made up as well within diverse genres that represent and govern these practices and diverse aspects of identity which are enacted through them, transnational networking becomes stabilized into particular ways of acting and strategizing diverse social arrangements and doings - transnational conduct and rationalized into a particular logics – logics of transnational living.

In addition to articulating how through the dialogic relationship highlighted above the parts of transnational dialectics begin to figure as transnational governmentality, I also uncover how this transnational dialectics is put 'in place'. That is, based on my research findings I argue that currently we are witnessing the emergence and rapid expansion of what I term as transnational semiotic landscape. With this notion I describe the re-occurring orders of indexicality that put the signs, linguistic and symbolic systems associated with different, national, cultural and historical terrains 'in aggregate' and 'in place' (Scollon & Scollon, 2003). I argue that through transnational

semiotic landscape, the products of transnational networking (discursive constructs, interdiscursive, intersemiotic and transdiscursive connectivities that I identified through my investigation) become impregnated into the spatiality and materiality of places and of our living environments (both computer-mediated and co-present) making transnational networking durable and context-like.

I believe that by formulating this transnational dialectics and demonstrating how this dialectics is at work in the concrete interactional acts and actions of the actors who produce the matrix of social life, in the places and objects, arrangements and activities that are relevant to these actors and that are associated with diverse societal enterprises I contribute to the accumulation of an intellectual foundation for knowing and understanding transnational realities and complexity of these realities, which is highly sought in the contemporary writings on transnationality and on which future examinations can draw in developing further the transnational scholarly field. This contribution became possible by virtue of inter- and cross-disciplinarity that underpins this investigation and due to its encompassing, multipart organization that addresses transnational complexities across all five interacting components of “a rich menu for research, theory and action”: empirical, methodological, theoretical, philosophical and public transnationalism (Levitt & Khagram, 2007)

## RESUMÉ

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De senere årtier har båret præg af en række grundlæggende forandringer som skaber en særlig levevis, som indebærer menneskers stadig stigende mobilitet, kapitaler, diskurser, betydninger osv. Internationalisering af kapitalistisk produktion og arbejds politikker, nedbrydning af barrierer for bevægelighed af handelsvarer, mennesker, kapital og service på tværs af nationale og kontinentale grænser, tilblivelsen og den hurtige vækst af internettet så vel som andre former for mobile, fjerndistance kommunikationsteknologier, og udvidelsen af transportsystemer osv. faciliterer og optrapper omfattende og kompleks forbindelse mellem mennesker og steder, såvel som kulturelle, diskursive og materielle ressourcer. Denne intensiverede og mangesidige mobilitet forårsager ændringer i etablerede mekanismer indeholdt i identitetskonstruktion, ved at distancere velkendte referencepunkter og forstyrre og/eller miste tilhørsforholdet til kulturelle, nationale og sociale rum involveret i identifikationsprocessen.

En hel del forskning beskæftiger sig med “vanskeligheder ved bindestregsidentiteter” (Visweswaran, 2008) og med transnationale tilhørsforhold gennem hvilke disse identiteter konstrueres, og er optaget af spørgsmål om *hvad* og *hvor*, sådan som: *Hvad* er de transnationale samfundsmæssige enheder og transnationale rum mellem hvilke transnational bevægelse finder sted, og “præcist *hvor* findes forskellige typer af transnationale sociale rum rent faktisk?” (Pries, 2008, s. 3). Jeg er interesseret i spørgsmål om *hvordan*: *Hvordan* forbindes forskelligartede, tidsmæssige og geografisk spredte, fysiske, sociale, politiske og symbolske steder, på tværs af hvilke og i association med hvilke sociale aktørers liv og identiteter organiseres i deres mondæne opførsel og handlinger? *Hvordan* skærer både konstruktion og re-konstruktion af disse forbindelser igennem og overskrider referencepunkter, betydninger og oplevelser gennem hvilke nationaliteter, deres territorier og medlemskaber “forestilles” (Hall, 1992; 2007)? *Hvordan* tager diskursive og sociale praksisser, i hvilke aktørerne involverer sig i løbet af deres hverdagsliv, og semiotiske felter, teknologier, former for medier og modaliteter som muliggør disse praksisser, del i opretholdelsen og udfordring, repræsentation og italesættelse af relationelle netværk genereret gennem disse konstruktioner? Og *hvordan* er disse netværk involveret i formuleringen af aspekter af identiteter og i at arrangere og at give mening til de aspekter af virkeligheder (normative regimer, sociale arrangementer, rutiner og praksisser) som ikke nødvendigvis og ikke eksplicit er forankret i nationale territorier og medlemskaber?

Det betyder, at den centrale målsætning for min forskning består i at undersøge kompleksiteten i transnationale dynamikker gennem kortlægning, afdækning og kritisk diskussion af vedvarende diskursiv og social netværkeri, som aktørerne udøver i deres hverdagspraksisser, og hvilke finder sted på grænsefladen mellem multiple semiotikker, kulturelle og nationale steder og associationer – det jeg refererer til som transnationalt netværkeri.

Jeg argumenterer for, at ved at flytte min spørgen fra den under-definerede verden af, ‘makro’, “transkontinentale eller interregionale strømninger” (Held, McGrew, Goldblatt, & Perraton, 1999, s. 1) og fra begrænsningerne af de forud-definerede transnationale strukturer ind i den ikke nær så eksotiske, sandsynligvis mere komplekse men med sikkerhed indholdsrige og dynamiske verden af aktørers praksisser, åbner jeg det op konceptuelt for at forstå forskelligheden i menneskelig handlen, praksisser og interaktioner, som er involveret i og som muliggør transnationalt netværkeri, og som muligvis ikke fanger opmærksomheden fra de studier som tager udgangspunkt i antagelsen af en særlig model for transnational orden.

Omfanget af mit forskningsprojekt er konkret og håndgribeligt, idet dets empiriske fokus ligger i aktørernes (medlemmer af det russisk-talende samfund i Nordjylland) konkrete og observerbare handlinger og interaktioner, som finder sted i og imellem tre steder for engagement: et computer-medieret socialt rum, Rusforum, en købmandsbutik, “Sadko” (den såkaldte “russiske” butik i Aalborg), og Rusmam/russisk skole, et netværk iværksat af russisk-talende forældre i 2006. Dog rækker dette projekt langt udover territoriale (‘mikro’- eller ‘lokalitets’- orienterede) måder at adresserer transnationalitet på, idet det empiriske arbejde udført indenfor disse rammer beskæftiger sig ikke bare med at opfange, hvordan transnationale forbindelser konstrueres *indenfor* forskellige steder, på tværs af hvilke aktørernes liv organiseres, og hvordan disse aktører former tilhørsforhold til særlige, spredte medlemskaber. Den mest afgørende empiriske opgave i denne undersøgelse består i at opspore og synliggøre, hvordan transnationale associationer konstrueres *mellem* sociale, fysiske og semiotiske fokusområder, og hvordan disse associationer forbindes til de sociale arrangementer, interaktionsordner og aktiviteter udenfor de steder og engagementer, rundt om hvilke feltarbejdet er organiseret.

Indenfor rammerne af denne undersøgelse arbejder jeg med at udvide transnational spørgsmål i retning af hverdagens sociale praksis og interaktion i hvilket transnationalt liv og transnational tilhørsforhold organiseres og opretholdes. Derfor er både de konceptuelle og metodiske rammer udviklet i denne undersøgelse finindstillet til at opspore, kortlægge og afdække transnationale

associationer som de opstår og genopstår, udspilles og udfordres, kategoriseres og orienteres imod og væk fra af sociale aktører, som de engagerer sig i hverdagens handlinger og interaktioner.

Teoretisk opnås dette gennem idéen om transnationalt netværkeri, rundt om hvilken min undersøgelse af transnationale kompleksiteter organiseres, og med hvilken jeg italesætter transnationale dynamikker, ikke som en samling af essentielt transnationale enheder, strukturer og steder, men som en form for social og diskursiv forbindelse gennem hvilken steder, praksisser, aspekter af identiteter og samfundsmæssige arrangementer, som i dem selv ikke er transnationale og ikke nødvendigvis er associeret med nationalt tilhørsforhold, bliver til udøvet transnationalitet, dvs. repræsenteret, kategoriseret og udspillet på tværs af og udover symbolsk og geo-politisk nationalt terræn.

Metodisk udvikler jeg en tilgang til at følge og analysere denne mangesidige og multimodale forbindelse, som er velegnet til at opfange de fineste og mest ubemærkede detaljer af de sociale og diskursive mekanismer og metoder, gennem hvilke de muliggøres, udspilles og udredes. Ved at fokusere på de forskellige typer af bindinger, som er involveret i transnationalt netværkeri og som sammenflettes til komplekse knuder og binder forskellige teknologier, semiotiske felter, former for modalitet og medier, diskursive rammer, fysiske steder, sociale ordner, materialiteter, normative regimer, genre, samfundsmæssige enterpriser osv., denne multimodale, social-semiotiske, diskurs tilgang gør det muligt at afsløre hvordan disse transnationale fænomener som fremstår gennemført og kontekst-lignende og agentløs faktisk er under konstant og aktiv konstruktion som finder sted i aktørernes praksisser og interaktioner.

Den i dette forskningsprojekt foreslåede og skitserede måde at konceptualisere og undersøge transnational tilværelse og transnationale medlemskaber fremviser forfriskende og interressant indsigt i transnationale dynamikker, som potentielt er brugbart for både akademiske og offentlige initiativer, hvor det er af interesse at forstå, assistere og administrere transnational levevis. For eksempel: Baseret på de analytiske resultater af forskningen, hvor jeg demonstrerede, at de kategorier og medlemskaber gennem hvilke sociale medlemmer organiserer deres liv og deres tilhørsforhold og hvilke indenfor rammerne af konventionel transnational retorik tænkes på som lukkede, komplette og solide nationale eller kulturelle beholdere ('hjem' og 'vært', 'original' og 'modtagende' samfund), er hverken fastlagte, eller opnåede forud for aktørernes interaktioner og handlinger, eller fuldstændig nationale. I min undersøgelse fastslår jeg faktisk, at transnationale tilhørsforhold er konstruerede og opretholdes ikke fra et national terræn (ligeegyldigt om det er



symbolsk eller geo-politisk) til et andet, men på tværs af de dynamiske og sammensatte samlinger af redegørelser, oplevelser, viden, betydninger og symboler som aktørerne konstruerer og konstant genforhandler i løbet af deres interaktioner og i relation til deres dagligdagsanliggender og engagementer. Punkterne listede under disse samlinger er omgivet af og sammenflettet med en mængde personlige og familiære rutiner, sociale arrangementer, daglige anliggender og handlinger, der i dem selv er spredt i tid og sted og på tværs af adskillige praksisser og handlen, hvilke opføres gennem disse handlinger og rutiner.

Hvad dette betyder for forståelsen af, hvordan aktørernes identiteter og liv organiseres transnationalt er, at det afslører, at hukommelsen og elementer af nostalgisk retorik, generelt set som manifestationer af og bevis for tab af eller udredning fra særlige referencepunkter, særlige kulturelle rutiner og regimer af handlen, er en del af aktiv og frugtbar kategorisering og hukommelsesarbejde, gennem hvilke disse punkter, rutiner og regimer *konstrueres* (og ikke blot *transporteres* ind i de nye livs kontekster som nydelige, lukkede pakker) og mobiliseres til at give mening til og organisere de arrangementer og engagementer umiddelbart relevante for aktørernes liv. Derudover synliggør det, at samlingerne af redegørelser, oplevelser, følelser, værdier og normer, som udgør og markerer særlige medlemskategorier inkorporeres og indeholdes i hinanden, netværkende handlinger og praksisser på tværs af tid-sted skellet. Dette indebærer, at transnational mobilitet ikke knækker eller splittes, men i stedet strækkes og komplicerer de tilhørsforhold, hvilke betydninger, følelsesmæssige oplevelser, kulturelle ressourcer osv., aktørerne kategoriserer som velkendte og delte, og at transnational tilværelse og tilhørsforhold organiseres gennem vedvarende netværkeri af disse kategorier med nye relationelle neksusser.

Ydermere, i løbet af mine studier har jeg demonstreret, at dette netværkeri finder sted i associationer med forskellige praksisser, i hvilke aktørerne engagerer sig igennem deres hverdagsliv, og i association med handlen, gennem hvilken de forhandler og opfører diverse aspekter af deres identiteter, og at disse praksisser og identitetsdimensioner er hverken nationale eller transnationale indtil de sociale medlemmer italesætter, opfører eller administrerer dem som sådan. Denne erkendelse tillod mig at stille spørgsmålstejn ved legitimiteten af at adressere social adfærd og virkelighed gennem en 'national – transnational' tvedeling. Ved at have fremskaffet stærk analytisk bevis for, hvordan nationale medlemskaber bliver konstrueret og/eller forstærket gennem transnationale associationer, og hvordan transnationale relationer organiseres ved at påberåbe sig spørgsmål om nationalt tilhørsforhold, argumenterede jeg for, at der ikke er nogen praksisser eller

steder som er essentielt nationale eller transnationale. Enhver neksus af relationer, gennem hvilken en særlig praksis er organiseret og opretholdt og som sammenfletter diskurser, kulturelle ressourcer og materielle objekter, rutiner og handlinger, normative regimer og betydninger osv., kan blive udført og italesat nationalt, dvs. gennem mere eller mindre implicite associationer med kategorier som repræsenterer og påberåber nationalt tilhørsforhold, så meget som det kan opnås og redegøres for transnationalt, dvs. ved at skære på tværs af symbolske og politiske grænser af nationaliteter.

Indenfor rammerne af min forskning, foreslår jeg en alternativ vision for transnationale dynamikker. Denne vision opfordrer til tanker omkring transnationalt liv, ikke forstået som et dikotomiseret forhold ('national-transnational', 'her-der', 'mikro-makro', 'hjem-vært'), men som dialektikker der præsenterer en bestemt måde at organisere hverdagspraksisser på, hvilken opererer gennem den kontinuerlige binding og krydsning, udstrækning og komprimering af nationalt- og transnationalt-samlede relationelle neksusser - transnationalt netværkeri, hvis diskursive og sociale mekanismer jeg undersøgte og diskutererede i denne afhandling. Jeg argumenterer for, at de transnationale dialektikker repræsenterer en af de komplekse teknikker og procedurer gennem hvilke aktørerne anvender kendskab og instruerer forskellige aspekter af virkeligheder (ting, betydninger og ressourcer), og gennem hvilke de regulerer forskellige aspekter af deres identiteter. Jeg hævder også, at disse dialektikker træder i kraft når diskursive og sociale mekanismer af transnationalt netværkeri udforsket i denne undersøgelse sammenflettes med andre metoder til at skabe og tænke virkeligheder. Det vil sige, at når transnationalt netværkeri bliver spredt igennem milliarder af banale handlinger, interaktioner og rutiner involveret i hverdagspraksisser, i hvilke aktørernes liv består, så vel som igennem forskellige genre som repræsenterer og styrer disse praksisser og forskellige aspekter af identitet, hvilke opføres gennem dem, bliver transnationalt netværkeri stabiliseret til bestemte måder at agere på og strategisere forskellige sociale arrangementer og handlen - transnational adfærd og rationaliseret til en særlig mentalitet - transnational mentalitet.

Udover at italesætte hvordan - gennem det dialogiske forhold understreget ovenfor - delene af transnationale dialektikker begynder at figurere som transnational "governmentality", afslører jeg også, hvordan disse transnationale dialektikker er sat 'ind i et sted'. Det vil sige, at baseret på mine forskningsresultater argumenterer jeg for, at vi i øjeblikket er vidner til tilblivelsen og en hastig udvidelse af det jeg har benævnt som et transnationalt semiotisk landskab - genopstående ordner af indeksikalitet som sætter tegnene, linkvistiske og symboliske systemer associeret med forskellige nationale, kulturelle og historiske terræner 'som en total' (Scollon & Scollon, 2003), og som

gennemtrænger produkterne af transnationalt netværkeri (diskursive konstruktioner, interdiskursive, intersemiotiske og transdiskursive forbindelser, som jeg har identificeret gennem min undersøgelse) ind til steders rum og materialitet (både computer-medierede og ”face-to-face”) og af vores miljøer, som gør transnationalt netværkeri (og transnational adfærd og mentalitet som dette netværkeri medierer og opretholder) varende og kontekst-lignende.

Jeg tror på, at ved at formulere disse transnationale dialektikker og demonstrere hvordan disse dialektikker fungerer i konkrete interaktionelle handlinger og ageren af de aktører som producerer matriksen for social liv, i stederne og objekterne, arrangementer og aktiviteter som er relevante for disse aktører, og som er associeret med forskellige samfundsmæssige entrepriser, bidrager jeg til akkumulationen af intellektuel grobund for kendskab til og forståelse af transnationale virkeligheder og kompleksiteter af disse virkeligheder, hvilke er højt efterspurgt i nutidige skrivelser om transnationalitet, og hvilke fremtidige undersøgelser kan trække på i videreudviklingen af det transnationale akademiske felt. Dette bidrag blev muliggjort i kraft af inter- og tvær-disciplinaritet som understøtter denne undersøgelse, og på grund af dennes omspændende, flerdelsorganisation, som adresserer transnationale kompleksiteter på tværs af alle fem interagerende komponenter af ”en rig menu for forskning, teori og handling”: empirisk, metodisk, teoretisk, filosofisk af offentlig transnationalisme (Levitt & Khagram, 2007).

## APPENDICES

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## APPENDIX I: PRESENTATION OF CO-PRESENT INTERACTION: TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTION

<i>Transcript 2: Conversation during Rusmam "without children get-to-gather", September 6, 2008</i>	• Transcript Header
Tanja:	• Participant Identifier
Z:	• Participant Identifier (anonymized)
U1:	• Unidentified Speaker
Many:	• Multiple Speakers
.	• Declarative Utterance
?	• Interrogative Utterance
!	• Exclamatory Utterance
..	• Short Pause (not absolute but relative to the other within a specific conversational event)
...	• Long Pause (not absolute but relative to the other within a specific conversational event)
[tvorog]	• Russian Speech
(incomp.)	• Incomprehensible speech
WHEN	• Accentuated/Stressed Element of Speech (because of the grammatic and idiomatic differences between Russian and English languages morphemes marked as stressed in English transcription may or may not correspond directly to the morphemes in of the original Russian speech unit)
//Baltic countries//	• Overlap (overlapping elements of speech will be positioned underneath each other)
<<Polish of course>>	• Increased Tempo (when significant and relatively to the tempo of the rest of the conversation)
>> <<	• Decreased Tempo (when significant and relatively to the tempo of the rest of the conversation)
< >	• Increased loudness (when significant and relatively to the loudness of the rest of the conversation)
> <	• Decreased loudness (when significant and relatively to the loudness of the rest of the conversation)
(laugh)	• Non-verbal behaviour
Oh	• Para-verbal elements
/	• Rising Tone (when significant)
\	• Falling Tone (when significant)

## APPENDIX II: 'INFORMED CONSENT' FORM (ORIGINAL)

### СОГЛАСИЕ НА УЧАСТИЕ В НАУЧНО-ИССЛЕДОВАТЕЛЬСКОМ ПРОЕКТЕ

#### КРАТКОЕ ОПИСАНИЕ ПРОЕКТА:

Юлия Жукова Клаузен (Julia Zhukova Klausen), PhD аспирант, Университет г. Ольборг (Aalborg Universitet) в рамках работы над PhD диссертацией с 01.01.2007 по 29.12.2010 проводит ряд наблюдений, неформальных интервью, групповых дискуссий, а также видео- и аудио-записей в связи со встречами и в процессе общения происходящими в среде русско-язычных иммигрантов в Северной Ютландии, Дания.

Рабочее название диссертации – Дискурсивные и Социальные Аспекты Транз-национальных Сетей (связей) и их Роль в Формировании Личности в Европейском Контексте.

Цель диссертации – изучение, описание и переосмысление изменений в механизмах связанных со становлением и реконструкцией личности повлеченных географической и культурной мобильностью людей. Исследование роли дискурсов в реализации вышеперечисленных процессов а также многократных дискурсивных пересечений, которые происходят через национальные, культурные, языковые и модальные границы.

#### ДАННЫМ Я ПОДТВЕРЖДАЮ, ЧТО:

- Мне была объяснена суть проекта и моего участия в нем, а также что мне была и в течении всего проекта будет предоставлена возможность задать и получить исчерпывающие ответы на вопросы связанные с моим участием в проекте.
- Я даю свое согласие на проведение видео- и аудио-записей и наблюдений общения в моем присутствии и с моим участием.
- Я даю свое согласие на участие в неформальных интервью и групповых дискуссиях.
- Я разрешаю использование и прямое цитирование моих высказываний и моего социального, языкового и культурного поведения собранных в результате эмпирической работы описанной выше

- С использованием моего имени ☐

- Анонимно ☐

ПОДПИСЬ \_\_\_\_\_

ДАТА \_\_\_\_\_

**БОЛЬШОЕ СПАСИБО!**

## APPENDIX II: 'INFORMED CONSENT' FORM (TRANSLATION)

### CONSENT TO PARTICIPATION IN THE RESEARCH PROJECT

#### **SHORT PROJECT DESCRIPTION:**

As a part of the work on the PhD dissertation, Julia Zhukova Klausen, PhD Fellow, Aalborg University, conducts a series of observations, informal interviews, group discussions as well as video-, audio- and photographic recordings in relation to the meetings and in the course of interaction between Russian-speaking people in Northern Jutland, Denmark.

Working title of the dissertation – Discursive and Social Aspects of Transnational Networking Practices and their Role in Identity Construction.

Research goals – examination, description and critical discussion of changes in mechanisms of identity construction in the context of transnational living. Study of the role of discursive practices in enabling networking that takes place across national, cultural and linguistic borders.

#### **HERBY I CONFIRM THAT:**

- The scope of the project and of my participation in it was explained to me and I understand that throughout the project I can re-negotiate the extent and form of this participation as well as that I was and will be given opportunities to ask questions and to receive any necessary clarifications in relation to the project and my involvement in it.
- I consent to observation, video-, audio- and photographic recordings of the interaction in which I participate or which takes place in my presence.
- I consent to participation in formal, unstructured interviews and group discussions.
- I consent to the release (use and direct citation) of the records and transcripts of interaction in which I participated and of my actions behaviour produced in relation to the research activities described above

- Using my name ☐
- Anonymously ☐

**SIGNATURE**\_\_\_\_\_

**DATE**\_\_\_\_\_

**THANK YOU VERY MUCH!**



## APPENDIX III: DATA CHART

### Appendix III.1

WEBSITE OF THE DANISH-RUSSIAN SOCIETY:

MAIN PAGE

< [HTTP://WWW.DKRUS-AALBORG.DK/](http://www.dkrus-aalborg.dk/) >

ACCESSED: [MARCH 2007]



# Dansk-Russisk Forening - Aalborg

Lokalforening for Region Nordjylland for kulturelt, humanitært og mellemfolkeligt samarbejde med Rusland

Til forsiden

Arrangementer

DRF Aalborg

Landsforeningen

Russiske links

Undervisning

Månedens sprog

Byen Pusjkin

Kaliningrad

Diverse

Webmaster



## Датско-российское Общество Ольборгское отделение

**Aktuelle arrangementer:**



**Paramon-teatret**  
Søndag den 4. marts kl. 15  
på Nordjyllands Kunstmuseum

Russisk børneteater på dansk  
"Russisk mosaik!"  
Børn: gratis - Voksne: 40 kr.

**Andre forestillinger:**  
5/3 kl. 9.00: Farstrup Skole  
5/3 kl. 14.00: Trekanten, Aalborg  
6/3 kl. 10.00: Hals Skole  
6/3 kl. 14.00 Skolen i Støvørde

[Læs mere her \(PDF\) >>](#)

## ARCHIVE OF EVENTS: MARCH 2008

ACCESSED: [MARCH 2008]



**Dansk-Russisk Forening - Aalborg**

Lokalforening for Region Nordjylland for kulturelt,  
humanitært og mellemfolkeligt samarbejde med Rusland



Til forsiden

Arrangementer

[DRF Aalborg](#)

[Den Russiske Skole](#)

[Landsforeningen](#)

[Russiske links](#)

[Det russiske sprog](#)

[Russisk i gymnasiet](#)

[Byen Pusjkin](#)

[Kaliningrad](#)

[Diverse](#)


Webmaster

	Yderligere oplysninger hos <i>Nadiya Andersen</i> , tlf. 30511235
<b>Marts 2008</b>	<p><b>Musisk legestue for russisksprogede småbørn og forældre</b>  Søndag den 23. marts kl. 10-12  i Konfirmandsalen, Vesterkær Kirke,  Skydebanevej 2, 9000 Aalborg</p> <p>Yderligere oplysninger hos <i>Nadiya Andersen</i>, tlf. 30511235</p> <p>Русская материнская группа приглашает детей в возрасте 0-3 года и родителей принять участие в развивающих занятиях. На занятиях мы поем русские песни, играем в пальчиковые игры, лепим, смотрим кукольный театр. Участие бесплатное, ждем Вас!</p> <p>Надя Андерсен, тел. 30511235</p> <p>Майл: <a href="mailto:rusmamdk@mail.ru">rusmamdk@mail.ru</a></p> <p><b>Musisk legestue for russisksprogede småbørn og forældre</b>  Søndag den 2. marts kl 14-17  Huset, Teaterloftet  Hasserisgade 10, Aalborg</p> <p>Yderligere oplysninger hos <i>Nadiya Andersen</i>, tlf. 30511235</p>
<b>Februar 2008</b>	

# WEBSITE OF THE DANISH-RUSSIAN SOCIETY: ARCHIVE OF EVENTS: JANUARY 1999-MARCH 2007

< [HTTP://WWW.DKRUS-AALBORG.DK/](http://www.dkrus-aalborg.dk/)>

ACCESSED: [MARCH 2007]



## Dansk-Russisk Forening - Aalborg

Lokalforening for Region Nordjylland for kulturelt, humanitært og mellemfolkeligt samarbejde med Rusland

### Aktuelle og kommende arrangementer

**Marts 2007**

**Paramon-teatret**  
- russisk børneteater på dansk

Gennem en årrække har Dansk-Russisk Forening i Nordjylland modtaget besøg af Paramon-teatret fra Skt. Petersborg.

Truppen spiller i år en forestilling, de har kaldt "Russisk mosaik". Den er bygget på russiske folkeeventyr og anekdoter. De formidles i en musik-dramatisk form, med humor, komik og show!

Forestillingen ledsages af levende musik i form af guitar, balalajka, klarnet og blokløjt.

**Forestillinger i Aalborg Kommune:**

- Søndag den 4. marts kl. 15.00: Nordjyllands Kunstmuseum
- Mandag den 5. marts kl. 9.00: Farstrup Skole
- Mandag den 5. marts kl. 14.00: Trekanten, Aalborg Øst.
- Tirsdag den 6. marts kl. 10.00: Hals Skole
- Tirsdag den 6. marts kl. 14.00: Skolen i Storvorde

[Læs hele programmet her \(PDF\) >>](#)

**April 2007**

[Oversigt over tidligere arrangementer siden 1999 - tryk her](#)

Arrangementer

[DRF Aalborg](#)

[Landsforeningen](#)

[Russiske links](#)

[Undervisning](#)

[Månedens sprog](#)

[Byen Pusjkin](#)

[Kaliningrad](#)

[Diverse](#)

[Webmaster](#)

<b>Februar 2007</b>	
<b>Januar 2007</b>	<p><b>Nytårsfrokost</b> Fredag den 26. januar kl. 19 Læs mere <a href="#">her</a></p> <p><b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> Torsdag den 4. januar kl. 17.00 i Huset, Det røde Værelse</p>
<b>December 2006</b>	<p><b>Ikonudstilling</b> Fredag den 8. december kl. 15.30 Vor Frelses Kirke Annebergvej 2 Udstillingen åbnes ved et arrangement fredag den 8. december.</p> <p>Se indbydelsen <a href="#">her</a>. Se katalog over ikonerne <a href="#">her</a>.</p> <p><b>"Lysset der kommer i dit hjem"</b> - foredrag om Russiske ikoner</p> <p>Fredag den 8. december kl. 16.30 Vor Frelses Kirke, Annebergvej 2</p> <p>I forbindelse med åbningen af ikon-udstillingen i Vor Frelses Kirke fortæller Prior ved Skt. Alexander Nevski Kirke i København (Moskva Patriarkat) Fader Theofan om russiske ikoner - deres betydning, historie og teknik. Foredraget er gratis og åbent for alle. Læs mere om russiske ikoner på side 3 i <a href="#">Medlemsinfo nr. 21</a> (PDF)</p>

Arrangementer

[DRF Aalborg](#)

[Landsforeningen](#)

[Russiske links](#)

[Undervisning](#)

[Månedens sprog](#)

[Byen Pusjkin](#)

[Kaliningrad](#)

[Diverse](#)

[Webmaster](#)

<b>Oktober 2006</b>	<p>Mandag 6. november kl. 18</p> <p><b>Kulturnatten i Aalborg</b> Fredag den 13. oktober kl. 20.00, 21.00 og 22.00</p> <p><b>HarmonikaOZ</b> på Galleri DECÓ Vesterbro 30 (over for Astoria Bio)</p> <p>Imponerende at se og høre den ukrainske accordionvirtuos Vadim Darmostuks repertoire. Der spænder fra klassisk til sprælske, muntre og fyrgne polkaer fra Don-kosakkernes hjemland.</p> <p>Arranger: Dansk-Russisk Forening og Galleri DECÓ</p> <p>Køb <b>Nattegn</b> til Kulturnatten a kr. 50</p>
<b>September 2006</b>	<p><b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> Huset, Hasselriggade 10 11. september kl. 17.30</p>
<b>Juni 2006</b>	<p><b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> Søndag den 18. juni kl. 11.30 hos Leo Pilgaard, Gldsigvej 20, Nørresundby</p> <p><b>Generalforsamling</b> Søndag den 18. juni kl. 12.00 hos Leo Pilgaard, Gldsigvej 20, Nørresundby</p> <p><b>Sommerfrokost</b> Søndag den 18. juni kl. 13.00 hos Leo Pilgaard, Gldsigvej 20, Nørresundby</p>
<b>Maj 2006</b>	<p><b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> Onsdag den 10. maj kl. 17.00 hos Leo Pilgaard, Gldsigvej 20, Nørresundby</p>
<b>April 2006</b>	<p><b>Børneforestilling "Petrusjka"</b> Søndag den 2. april kl. 15.00 i Knasten Svenstrup Skolevej 28, Svenstrup.</p> <p>Paramon-Teatret fra Skt. Petersborg spiller <b>på dansk</b> en teater-forestilling med fortælling, dukker, musik og sang for børn.</p> <p>Entre: Børn 20 kr. Voksne 30 kr. Alle er velkomne!</p> <p><a href="#">Læs mere om hele arrangementet her &gt;&gt;</a></p>

Til forsiden

Arrangementer




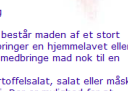

[DRF Aalborg](#)

[Landsforeningen](#)








[Russiske links](#)



[Undervisning](#)


<b>Marts 2006</b>	<p><b>Dansk-Russisk aften</b> Fredag den 10. marts kl. 19.30 i Huset - Teaterloftet</p> <p>Hyggeaften i anledning af den internationale kvindedag den 8. marts.</p> <p>Læs mere <a href="#">her &gt;&gt;</a></p>
<b>Februar 2006</b>	<p><b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> Mandag den 13. februar kl. 17.30 i Huset (Den røde Bar)</p>



<div>Til forsiden</div> <div>Arrangementer</div> <div>DRF Aalborg</div> <div>Landsforeningen</div> <div>Russiske links</div> <div>Undervisning</div> <div>Månedens sprog</div> <div>Byen Puskin</div> <div>Kaliningrad</div> <div>Diverse</div> <div>Webmaster</div>	<div> <b>Januar 2006</b>  <b>Foreningens nytårsfrokost</b>  <b>Fredag den 27. januar kl. 19</b>  i 3F's lokaler, Søndergade 62, 4. sal, Aalborg   <p>Som vi med succes prøvede de sidste par år, består måden af et stort <b>fælles tag-selv-bord</b>, hvor hver deltager medbringer en hjemmelavet eller eventuelt købt ret. Hver deltager skal mindst medbringe mad nok til en person.  Forslag til retter kunne være russisk salat, kartoffelsalat, salat eller måske noget varmt som progger, frikadeller eller blin. Der er mulighed for at varme måden i lokalets køkken.</p> <p>Dertil en flaske vodka, som foreningen giver og man kan købe sig til mere vodka eller øl og vand til uhyre rimelige priser.</p> <p><b>Pris:</b> 25,- kr. pr. person.  <b>Tilmelding</b> senest den 25. januar til: Ulrik Eskildsen, tlf.: 98 12 74 66 eller Jesper Nielsen, tlf.: 98 11 31 75</p>  </div> <div> <b>December 2005</b>  <b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b>  Mandag den 5. december kl. 17 i Huset </div> <div> <b>November 2005</b>  <b>Ruslandskonference</b>  Lørdag den 25/11 kl. 13-17.30 i København <a href="#">Læs mere her</a>  <b>Hovedbestyrelsesmøde</b>  26. november i København  <b>Medlemsaften</b>  <b>Rejser i Rusland</b>  Mandag den 14. november kl. 19 i Huset  Hassersgade 10, Aalborg  Medlemmernes egne beretninger fra rejser i Rusland.  Ulrik Eskildsen viste billeder og berettede om sin sprogrejse til Jalta i 1992.  </div> <div> <b>Oktober 2005</b>  <b>Russisk aften med Maksim Tevelev, Skt. Petersborg</b>  <b>Mandag den 24. oktober</b>  <b>Putins Rusland</b> - aktuelt foredrag på dansk ved Maksim Tevelev om den aktuelle situation i Rusland.  <b>Kl. 18.00:</b> Fællesspisning på Nørresundby Daghejskole, Rådhuset, Nørresundby Torv. Tilmelding til <a href="#">Lars Bang Jensen</a> påkrævet, max. 10 pladser, pris 40 kr.  <b>Kl. 19.30:</b> Foredrag: <b>Putins Rusland</b>  Gratis adgang </div>
<div>Til forsiden</div> <div>Arrangementer</div> <div>DRF Aalborg</div> <div>Landsforeningen</div> <div>Russiske links</div> <div>Undervisning</div> <div>Månedens sprog</div> <div>Byen Puskin</div> <div>Kaliningrad</div> <div>Diverse</div> <div>Webmaster</div>	<div> Lørdag den 26. marts kl. 10.00  Hans Egedes Kirke, Grønlands Torv 6, 9210 Aalborg SØ.  Læs mere <a href="#">her</a>  <b>Dansk-Russisk aften</b>  Fredag den 11. marts i Huset  <b>Aflyst p.g.a. manglende tilslutning</b>  <b>Kulturlørdag på Aalborg Teater</b>  Lørdag den 5. marts kl. 13.00  Dansk-Russisk Forening inviterer til klassisk koncert på Aalborg Teater, Jernbanegade 9, kl. 13 med efterfølgende teaterforestilling kl. 16.  Den normale koncertentré er 80 kr., men medlemmer af Dansk-Russisk Forening inviteres gratis med, da foreningen yder økonomisk støtte til det spændende arrangement, der også rummer muligheden for at se teaterstykket Anna Karenina til rabatpris. Der spilles et regulært koncertprogram på ca. 2 gange 45 minutter, og der gives introduktion til musikken, der bl.a. er Alexander Borodins Kvarter nr. 2 og Antonin Dvoraks Miniature.  Det professionelle ensemble <b>Leto-kvartetten</b> består af:  <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Olga Danylyuk (1. violin)</li> <li>Taras Danylyuk (2. violin)</li> <li>Elsabeth Kloster (bratsch)</li> <li>Lene Holt Nielsen (cello)</li> </ul> <b>Koncertbilletter:</b> Dansk-Russisk Forening råder over 40 billetter, der kan reserveres hos: formand Ulrik Eskildsen - tlf. 98 12 74 66 eller kassører Jesper Nielsen - tlf. 98 11 31 75 efter "først til mølle-princippet". Billetterne fremsendes efterfølgende.  <b>Teaterbilletter:</b> Kl. 16 er der mulighed for at se forestillingen "Anna Karenina" til en <b>rabatpris</b> på 128 kr, 79 kr og 40 kr. Billetter kan reserveres hos: formanden Ulrik Eskildsen - tlf. 98 12 74 66 eller kassører Jesper Nielsen - tlf. 98 11 31 75. Billetterne betales umiddelbart inden forestillingen ved Aalborg Teaters kasse.  <b>Ruslands-konference 2005</b>  Torsdag den 3. marts kl. 13.30-15.30  Seminar på Aalborg Universitet med deltagelse af Duma-medlemmerne Arkadij Baskajev og Georgij Leontjev. Læs mere <a href="#">her</a>  <b>Foredrag om Tolstoj og Anna Karenina</b>  Tirsdag den 1. marts  Aalborg Teater kl. 19.30  Foredrag af lektor Kjeld Bjørnager, Slavisk Institut ved Århus Universitet. I samarbejde med Aalborg Teater og Folkeuniversitetet </div>
<div>Til forsiden</div> <div>Arrangementer</div> <div>DRF Aalborg</div> <div>Landsforeningen</div> <div>Russiske links</div> <div>Undervisning</div> <div>Månedens sprog</div> <div>Byen Puskin</div> <div>Kaliningrad</div> <div>Diverse</div> <div>Webmaster</div>	<div> <b>Ortodoks gudstjeneste</b>  Lørdag den 22. oktober kl. 10.00  Hans Egedes Kirke, Grønlands Torv 6, 9210 Aalborg SØ.  Læs mere <a href="#">her</a> </div> <div> <b>September 2005</b>  <b>SPUTNIK</b>  Russisk Kulturfestival  5.-18. september   <b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b>  Mandag den 26/9 kl. 17  <b>Hovedbestyrelsesmøde</b>  den 3. september i Horsens  <b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b>  Mandag den 26/9 kl. 17  <b>August 2005</b>  <b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b>  Mandag den 29/8 kl. 17  <b>Juli 2005</b>  <b>Juni 2005</b>  <b>Sommerfrokost</b>  Søndag den 12. juni kl. 12.30  i Aalborg Katedralskoles hytte i Hammer Bakker  <b>Maj 2005</b>  <b>Dansk-Russisk Forenings kongres</b>  28. maj i København  Læs mere <a href="#">her</a> &gt;&gt;  <b>April 2005</b>  <b>Foredrag om Tjekhov og Platonov</b>  Tirsdag den 10. maj  Aalborg Teater kl. 19.30  Foredrag af lektor Kjeld Bjørnager, Slavisk Institut ved Århus Universitet.  I samarbejde med Aalborg Teater og Folkeuniversitetet  <b>Information og tilmelding:</b> <a href="#">Folkeuniversitetets hjemmeside</a>  <b>Generalforsamling</b>  Tirsdag den 10. maj kl. 18 i Huset  Foreningens bestyrelse udgøres herefter af:  <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ulrik Eskildsen</li> <li>Jesper Nielsen</li> <li>Niels-Ove Petersen</li> <li>Villy Fuglsang</li> <li>Leo Pilgaard</li> <li>Lars Bang-Jensen</li> <li>Thue Ørborg</li> <li>Elena Bozhevolnaya.</li> <li>Suppleant: Inge Olsen</li> <li>Revisor: Kai Hjort</li> <li>Revisorsuppleant: Erik Jensenen.</li> </ul> </div>
<div>Til forsiden</div> <div>Arrangementer</div> <div>DRF Aalborg</div> <div>Landsforeningen</div> <div>Russiske links</div> <div>Undervisning</div> <div>Månedens sprog</div> <div>Byen Puskin</div> <div>Kaliningrad</div> <div>Diverse</div> <div>Webmaster</div>	<div> <b>Februar 2005</b>  -  <b>Januar 2005</b>  <b>Foreningkonference på Snoghøj Højskole</b>  22.-23. januar  <b>Foreningens nytårsfrokost</b>  Fredag den 21. januar kl. 19  i SØ's lokaler, Søndergade 62, 4. sal, Aalborg   <p>Som vi med succes prøvede de sidste par år, består måden af et stort fælles tag-selv-bord, hvor hver deltager medbringer en hjemmelavet eller eventuelt købt ret. Hver deltager skal mindst medbringe mad nok til en person.  Forslag til retter kunne være russisk salat, kartoffelsalat, salat eller måske noget varmt som progger, frikadeller eller blin. Der er mulighed for at varme måden i lokalets køkken.  Dertil en flaske vodka som foreningen giver og man kan købe sig til mere vodka eller øl og vand til uhyre rimelige priser.  <b>Pris:</b> 25,- kr. pr. person.  <b>Tilmelding</b> senest den 19. januar til: Leo Pilgaard, tlf.: 98 17 48 17  Ulrik Eskildsen, tlf.: 98 12 74 66 eller Jesper Nielsen, tlf.: 98 11 31 75  <b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b>  Tirsdag den 4 januar kl. 17  Huset, Hassersgade  <b>December 2004</b>  <b>November 2004</b>  <b>Medlemsaften</b>  Fredag den 12. november i Huset  Se billeder <a href="#">her</a>  <b>Program:</b>  <b>Kl. 18.30 Spising</b>  Husets Café serverer marinert nøkkem m. risplaf, kogte grønsager, stegesovs og æble med tyttebær. Til dessert er der parsterte m. creme fraiche.  <b>Kl. 19.30 Moskva i 1930'erne</b>  Villy Fuglsang fortæller om sine oplevelser i 30'ernes Moskva med mulighed for spørgsmål og diskussion.  <b>20.30-22 Selskabeligt samvær</b>  Hvis du ønsker at deltage i spisingen er prisen 40 kr. (dessert: 10 kr.) og <b>tilmelding nødvendig senest onsdag den 10/11</b> til: Jesper tlf. 98 11 31 75 eller Ulrik tlf. 98 12 74 66.  </p></div>







<p>Til forsiden</p> <p>Arrangementer</p> <p>DRF Aalborg</p> <p>Landsforeningen</p> <p>Russiske links</p> <p>Undervisning</p> <p>Månedens sprog</p> <p>Bven Puskin</p> <p>Kaliningrad</p> <p>Diverse</p> <p>Webmaster</p>	<p><b>Moscow Art Trio</b> Fredag den 22. oktober kl. 20 i Huset, Hasserisgade 10</p>  <p>Misha Alperin (piano), Sergey Starostin (sang, klarinet m.m.), Arkady Shikloper (valdhorn, flygelhorn). Moscow Art Trios medlemmer er alle klassisk skolede musikere med erfaringer fra bl.a. Sovjetbundens avantgardejazz, Bolsjeballetten og de mangfoldige folkemusiktraditioner i det udtrakke Sovjetimperium. Gruppen har udviklet en egen personlig stil med inspiration fra moderne jazz og improvisationsmusik, nyere klassiske komponister, og østeuropæisk og asiatiske folkemusik.</p> <p>Koncerten er nøgfri. Entré: 80 kr., studerende 40 kr. Forsalg: Huset tlf. 9633 8100 Arranger: Papaya, NUT &amp; Huset med støtte fra Kunststyrelsen, Musam &amp; Nordjyllands Amt.</p> <p><b>Fagforeninger og arbejdsmarkedsforhold i Rusland</b> Tirsdag den 5. oktober kl. 19.00 SID Søndergade.</p> <p>Foredrag v/ tidi. MF Qya Fich (SI) om de til tider kaotiske forhold på det russiske arbejdsmarked efter Sovjetunionens opløsning. 1 samarbejde med SID Aalborg.</p>	<p><b>August 2004</b></p> <p><b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> Tirsdag den 24. august kl. 17 Huset, Hasserisgade 10</p> <p><b>Juli 2004</b> Følg med på Aalborg Kommunes hjemmeside om <b>Tall Ships' Race 2004</b>, hvor flere store sejlskibe fra Rusland deltager 28. juli - 1. august 2004</p> <p><b>Juni 2004</b></p> <p><b>Skovtur &amp; sommerfrokost</b> Søndag den 13. juni kl. 12.30</p>  <p>Tag frokostkurve og grillbakter med i Hamner Bakker til Aalborg Katedralskoles lejrhytte, Søhusevej 61, 9380 Vestbjerg.</p> <p>Tikørsel via Egelundsvej i Vestbjerg. Bus 42 og 72 kører til Vestbjerg.</p> <p><b>Tilmelding snarest til:</b> Ulrik Eskildsen tlf. 98127466 eller Jesper Nielsen tlf. 98113175.</p> <p>Pris: 20 kr. / barn 10 kr. - Gøl &amp; vand til rimelige priser.</p> <p><b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> Tirsdag den 1. juni kl. 17 Husets Røde værelse Konstituering af ny bestyrelse, se <a href="#">her</a></p> <p><b>Maj 2004</b></p> <p><b>Generalforsamling</b> Tirsdag den 11. maj kl. 19 Husets Røde værelse</p> <p>På generalforsamlingen valgtes flg. medlemmer til foreningens bestyrelse:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Thue Ørborg</li> <li>• Greg Macdonald</li> <li>• Lars Bang Jensen</li> <li>• Villy Fuglsang</li> <li>• Leo Pilgaard</li> <li>• Jesper Nielsen</li> <li>• Niels Ove T. Jensen</li> <li>• Ulrik Eskildsen</li> <li>• 1. suppleant: Morten Grøn Sørensen</li> <li>• 2. suppleant: Thomas Heuniche</li> <li>• Revisor: Kai Hjorth</li> <li>• Revisorsuppleant: Erik Jeppesen</li> </ul> <p><b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b></p>
<p>Til forsiden</p> <p>Arrangementer</p> <p>DRF Aalborg</p> <p>Landsforeningen</p> <p>Russiske links</p> <p>Undervisning</p> <p>Månedens sprog</p> <p>Bven Puskin</p> <p>Kaliningrad</p> <p>Diverse</p> <p>Webmaster</p>	<p><b>September 2004</b></p> <p><b>Kejserinde Dagmar</b> Tirsdag den 21. september kl. 19.00 Trekanten, Sebbesundvej.</p> <p>Foredrag v/ Sognepræst og forfatter Preben Ulstrup om den danske prinsesse Dagmar, som blev kejserinde Maria Fjodorovna Rusland. Prinsesse Dagmar kom som 18-årig kom til Rusland og blev gift med den russiske tronfølger Alexander. Med attentatet på svigerfaderen i 1881 blev hun Ruslands førstedame og zarina under navnet Maria Fjodorovna. Hendes to sønner, storfyrst Mikhail og Nikolaj 2. blev myrdet under den russiske revolution. Det siges at Nikolaj 2. og hans zarina og fem børn alle blev myrdet i Jakaterinburg i 1918.</p> 	<p><b>Russisk præsidentvalg i Aalborg</b> Søndag den 14/3-2004</p>  <p><b>Информация по выборам в Ольборге</b></p> <p>Время: Воскресенье 14/03 0800 - 1100 Место: парковка около гостиницы First Hotel (Slotshotellet), Rendsburggade 5, около пролива Микро автобус Фиат, серого цвета, дипломатические номера (синего цвета) AS 76273</p> <p><b>НЕ ЗАБУДЬТЕ СВОЙ ЗАГРАН ПАСПОРТ!!!!</b></p> <p>Пожалуйста проинформируйте всех заинтересованных лиц.</p> <p><b>Information om valget i Aalborg</b></p> <p>Tid: søndag den 14/3 kl. 8-11 Sted: P-pladsen ved First Hotel (Slotshotellet), Rendsburggade, nær jorden Grå FIAT-minibus med diplomatlader (blå) nr. AS 76273. Glem ikke dit udlandspas! Informér venligst alle interesserede personer.</p> <p><b>Billeder fra valget i Aalborg</b></p>  <p><b>Датско-русский вечер</b> Huset, Hasserisgade 10, Aalborg</p>
<p>Til forsiden</p> <p>Arrangementer</p> <p>DRF Aalborg</p> <p>Landsforeningen</p> <p>Russiske links</p> <p>Undervisning</p> <p>Månedens sprog</p> <p>Bven Puskin</p> <p>Kaliningrad</p> <p>Diverse</p> <p>Webmaster</p>	<p><b>April 2004</b></p> <p><b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> Tirsdag den 6. april kl. 17 Lærerværelset, Aalborg Katedralskole</p> <p><b>Marts 2004</b></p> <p><b>Danskbøger til Skt. Petersborg</b></p> <p>På foranledning af en henvendelse fra Dansk-Russisk Forening i Aalborg har Sprogcentret på Kastetvej doneret en række klassesæt af udrangerede undervisningsbøger og hæfter til Skole nr. 555 i Skt. Petersborg, hvor en god bekendt af Dansk-Russisk Forening, Maxim Teveljev, underviser i dansk. Bøgerne er beregnet til danskundervisning for udlændinge.</p> <p>Den 24. marts blev bøgerne overdraget til nogle kursister fra Skt. Petersborg, der p.t. opholder sig i Århus.</p> <p><b>Russisk børneteater</b></p> <p>Fra 22. marts til 3. april vil den russiske teatertrup Paramon spille H.C. Andersens "Store Klaus og lille Klaus" - på dansk.</p> <p>Forestillingen er specielt instrueret til opførelse i Danmark, hvorfor dialogen er på dansk, men der er sambdgt lagt meget vægt på den miniske udfoldelse, til at understøtte det svære danske sprog. Stykket indeholder elementer af både dukketeater, pantomime og mere traditionelt dramatisk teater, og vil være krydret med levende musik, sang, dans og komik.</p> <p>Aalborgpremieren vil finde sted på fritidscentret Fri-Stedet 22. marts, og stykket vil de følgende dage kunne opleves på Stolpedalskolen, Trekanten, Vlenstrup Skole og Huset Hasserisgade.</p>	<p><b>Dansk-russisk aften</b> Fredag den 5. marts kl. 18.30</p> <p>Dansk-Russisk Forening, Aalborg, inviterer dansk-russiske par og andre interesserede til dansk-russisk aften i anledning af den Internationale Kvindedag i Husets medelokal, Hasserisgade 10, Aalborg.</p> <p><b>Program:</b> Fælles spising (dagens ret) &amp; hyggeligt samvær</p> <p><b>Husets Café serverer:</b> Marineret nakkekam m. stegesovs, ris pilaff, kogte grønsager og 1/2 æble m. tyttebær. (40 kr.) Dessert: Citronfrømadig m. flødeskum. (10 kr.)</p> <p><b>Tilmelding senest den 3/3 til:</b> Ulrik tlf. 98 12 74 66 eller Jesper 98 11 31 75</p>
<p>Til forsiden</p> <p>Arrangementer</p> <p>DRF Aalborg</p> <p>Landsforeningen</p> <p>Russiske links</p> <p>Undervisning</p> <p>Månedens sprog</p> <p>Bven Puskin</p> <p>Kaliningrad</p> <p>Diverse</p> <p>Webmaster</p>	<p><b>Februar 2004</b></p> <p><b>Møde med Ruslands ambassadør</b> Fredag den 6. februar kl. 16 i det Gl. Rådhus, Gl. Torv</p> <p>Ruslands ambassadør i Danmark (siden august 2003) <b>Emilia Rjurikova</b> besøger Aalborg Kommune, Aalborg Universitet og <b>Dansk-Russisk Forening</b>.</p> <p>Foreningens medlemmer og herboende russere er inviteret til at møde ambassadøren over en kop kaffe på det Gl. Rådhus på Gl. Torv.</p>  <p>Man 2. feb. kl. 20 i Huset</p> <p><b>Krigen i Tjetjenien</b> Journalist og forfatter Ole Søg Andersen</p> <p><b>Krigen i Tjetjenien</b> Mandag den 2. februar kl. 19.30 i Huset (Salen), Hasserisgade 10</p> <p>Foredrag af <b>journalist og forfatter Ole Søg Andersen</b>, der flere gange har rejst i Tjetjenien. Ole Søg Andersen var pressessekretær for Akhmed Sakajev og den Tjetjenske Verdenskongres i København. Flere oplysninger kan findes på <a href="#">Ole Søg Andersens hjemmeside</a> (se under foredrag).</p> <p>Pris: 0 kr. Arrangører: Folkeuniversitetet, Huset, Socialdemokraterne og Dansk-Russisk Forening.</p>	<p><b>Januar 2004</b></p> <p><b>Nytårsfrokost - Læs mere her!</b> <b>Новогодний вечер 2004</b> Fredag den 23. januar kl. 19 i SID's lokaler, Søndergade 62, Aalborg</p> <p><b>По русский</b></p>  <p><b>Ekstraordinært bestyrelsesmøde</b> Mandag den 19. januar kl. 17 i Huset</p>



Arrangementer <b>DRF Aalborg</b> Landsforeningen Russiske links Undervisning Månedens sprog Byen Puskin Kaliningrad Diverse Webmaster	<b>December 2003</b> Tirsdag den 2. december kl. 17 i Huset	<b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> Tirsdag den 2. december kl. 17 i Huset
	<b>November 2003</b> Tisdag den 4. november kl. 17 i Huset	<b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> Tisdag den 4. november kl. 17 i Huset
	<b>Oktober 2003</b> Folk-jazz-rock med <b>The Farlanders - Moskva</b> Torsdag den 23. oktober kl. 20 Huset, Hassensgade <i>I samarbejde med Papaya og Huset</i>  <b>Kulturnat 2003</b> Fredag den 10. oktober kl. 20 & 21 & 22  <b>Lys musik fra det mørke Rusland -</b> Russisk folkemusik i Banegårdshallen med <b>Karavai</b> Karavai-kvartetten med sangerinden Irina Kulikova har specialiseret sig i syngende og tempo/lydt traditionel russisk folkemusik og sang. De fire musikere er eksperter på deres instrumenter og sangerinden Irina Kulikova er en sand virtuos inden for den helt unikke russiske sangtradition.	
	<b>September 2003</b> Mandag den 29. september kl. 17 i Huset <b>Russisk/ukrainsk uge på Trekanten</b> <b>Dansk-russisk aften</b> Torsdag den 11. september Trekanten, Sebersundvej 2A <b>Ukrainsk folkemusik med Dvyohraj</b> kl. 20:00 Det var en stor oplevelse da den ukrainske folkemusikgruppe Dvyohraj sidste år spillede på Trekanten. De mestrer instrumenter som violin, belelejs, harmonika og formår at gøre musikken levende, magisk og vedkommende. Blyd lide dig selv for en stor musikalsk oplevelse. Entré: 30 kr. <b>Russisk mad</b> fra kl. 19:00	

Til forsiden Arrangementer <b>DRF Aalborg</b> Landsforeningen Russiske links Undervisning Månedens sprog Byen Puskin Kaliningrad Diverse Webmaster	<b>Pribuzhie - dans og musik fra Belarus</b> Søndag den 14. september kl. 15:00 Trekanten, Sebersundvej 2a, Aalborg Øst Gruppen Pribuzhie, der på én gang er kor, dansegruppe og orkester, underholder med levende flod sang, dans og musik i Trekantens sal. Entré: 20 kr.
	<b>Skt. Petersborg - i fortid og nutid</b> Tisdag 16. september kl. 19:30 Trekanten, Sebersundvej 2a Aalborg Øst  Torben Heuer, århus, tidligere lektor ved Skt. Petersborg Universitet, fortæller om Skt. Petersborg, som blev grundlagt af Peter den Store i 1703, og derfor i år fejrer sit 300 års jubilæum. Skt. Petersborg har siden grundlæggelsen været Ruslands vindue mod vest. I løbet af århundrederne har den været genstand for mange forskellige påvirkninger mellem Rusland og Europa.
	I samarbejde med <b>Folkuniversitetet</b> og <b>Trekanten</b> <b>Konstituerende bestyrelsesmøde</b> Mandag den 18. august kl. 17 i Huset
	<b>August 2003</b> <b>Sommerfrokost &amp; skovtur</b> Søndag den 15. juni kl. 12:00 i Aalborg Katedralskoles lejrhytte i Hammer Bakker (Søhusvej) <b>Medbring selv madkurv og grillmad.</b> Pris: voksne 20 kr. børn 10 kr. Tilmelding til Ulrik Eskildsen 98127466 eller Jesper Nielsen 98113175 <b>Maj 2003</b> <b>Generalforsamling</b> Torsdag den 8. maj kl. 19:00 i Huset, Hassensgade 10 (Det grønne værelse) <b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> Torsdag den 8. maj kl. 17:30



Til forsiden Arrangementer <b>DRF Aalborg</b> Landsforeningen Russiske links Undervisning Månedens sprog Byen Puskin Kaliningrad Diverse Webmaster	<b>April 2003</b>  <b>Russiske aeg</b> 31. marts - 25. april i <b>Trekanten</b> , Sebersundvej 2A, 9220 Aalborg Ø. Ellen Aspring udstiller russiske aeg, som hun selv fremstiller. I samme periode udstilles "Puskins adresser", grafiske blade udlånt af Dansk-Russisk Forening.
	<b>Spurven der ikke kunne synge</b> <b>Paramon-Teatret, Sankt Petersborg</b> Onsdag den 9. april kl. 10 Svenstrup Skole <b>Russisk sang &amp; musik</b> Tisdag den 8. april kl. 21:00 i Studenterhuset, GI-Torv De alsidige musikere og skuespillere fra Paramon-teatret i Skt. Petersborg, Irina Kovalenko og Maxim Pachkov, synger og spiller bl.a. russiske sange. Fri entré.
	<b>Spurven der ikke kunne synge</b> <b>Paramon-Teatret, Sankt Petersborg</b> Tisdag den 8. april kl. 13 Trekanten, Sebersundvej 2a <b>Spurven der ikke kunne synge</b> <b>Paramon-Teatret, Sankt Petersborg</b> Tisdag den 8. april kl. 10 Stolpedalskolen <b>Spurven der ikke kunne synge</b> <b>Paramon-Teatret, Sankt Petersborg</b> Mandag den 7. april kl. 19:30 i Huset, Hassensgade 10 Forestillingen er baseret på den engelske forfatter Tony Maddox fortælling af samme navn, som sidste blev opført i Danmark i 1998. Stykket er nu iscenesat i en ny version med den samme - dengang 7-årige - dreng i hovedrollen. Forestillingen er bygget op som en musical, baseret på russisk folkemusik med elementer af rock. Forestillingen er skabt specielt til brug i Danmark, hvorfor der er lagt vægt på den miniske udfoldelse. Medvirkende: Irina Kovalenko, Maxim Pachkov og Platon Pachkov. I Husets Café serveres en <b>russisk-inspireret menu</b> i aftenens anledning fra kl. 17:30. Entré - inklusive mad, kaffe/cacao og kage: 75-kr. Entré - inklusive kaffe/cacao og kage: 40 kr. Forsale: Huset - 98338100.
	

Til forsiden Arrangementer <b>DRF Aalborg</b> Landsforeningen Russiske links Undervisning Månedens sprog Byen Puskin Kaliningrad Diverse Webmaster	<b>Marts 2003</b> <b>Dansk-russisk aften</b> Fredag den 7. marts kl. 18:30 i Huset (Modelkalet). Fælles spising, hyggeligt samvær og musikalsk underholdning ved Nataliya og Marina. Eventuel tilmelding til Ulrik tlf. 98127466 eller Jesper tlf. 98113175   Nataliyas Nattergale underholdt med russiske sange. <b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> Tisdag den 4. marts kl. 17 i Huset (Det Røde værelse)
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Til forsiden Arrangementer <b>DRF Aalborg</b> Landsforeningen Russiske links Undervisning Månedens sprog Byen Puskin Kaliningrad Diverse Webmaster	<b>Februar 2003</b> <b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> Tisdag den 4. februar kl. 17 i Huset <b>Rejse i dødens fodspor</b> - med fuglen på viljens vej Mandag den 3. februar i Huset  En mødestedsaften med fhv. folketingsmedlem, general m.m. <b>Villy Fuglsang</b> og forfatteren Niels Ole Frederiksen fra Sdr. Felding Højskole. Frederiksen har skrevet en bog, der fortæller træk fra Fuglsangs begivenhedsrige liv. Fra tiden som frivillig soldat i den spanske borgerkrig, hvor han opnåede rang af general, til internering i K2-lejren Stutthof i nærheden af Gdansk fra 1943 til 1945. Forfatteren fortæller om sit møde med Fuglen og om arbejdet med bogen. Villy Fuglsang supplerer med fortællinger fra sit spændende liv. Bogen <i>Rejse i dødens fodspor</i> er allerede udkommet i sit andet oplag. Entré - inklusive kaffe og kage: 40,- kr. Arrangører: FO-Aalborg.dk og Huset.
	<b>Januar 2003</b> <b>Se billeder her fra årets Nytårsfrokost</b> Fredag den 24. januar kl. 19 i SID's lokaler Søndergade 62, Aalborg <b>Læs mere her</b> 
	<b>По русский</b>

Til forsiden Arrangementer <b>DRF Aalborg</b> Landsforeningen Russiske links Undervisning Månedens sprog Byen Puskin Kaliningrad Diverse Webmaster	<b>November 2002</b> <b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> Tisdag den 26. november kl. 17 i Huset (Den røde Bar) <b>Dansk-russisk aften</b> Fredag den 15. november kl. 19 Sted: Huset, Hassensgade 10, Aalborg (Modelkalet) Mulighed for fællesspising i Husets café kl. 18.  Menu: Sennepsglaseret skinker, flødekartofler, dampede grønsager, gran salat. Dessert: Pandekager med is Eventuel henvendelse til: Ulrik Eskildsen tlf. 98127466 eller Natassja Nielsen tlf. 98253045
	<b>Oktober 2002</b>  <b>Skt. Petersborg: 300 år</b> Mandag den 28. oktober kl. 19:30 Sted: Huset, Hassensgade10, Aalborg (Modelkalet) Lysbilledforedrag ved <b>Maxim Tsvetayev</b> , formand for Russisk-Dansk Center i Skt. Petersborg Historisk oversigt fra Peter d. Store til Vladimir Putin, D. dramatiske 20 århundrede. Dagens problemer, hvem er egentlig skt.petersborgere og hvordan er det at være en skt.petersborger idag? <b>Undervisningssystemet i Rusland</b> Mandag den 28. oktober kl. 16-18 Sted: Aalborg Seminariums festsal Mylius Enchevs Vej 131, 9210 Aalborg SØ Foredrag ved <b>Maxim Tsvetayev</b> , formand for Russisk-Dansk Center i Skt. Petersborg Folkeskolen set indenfra hvordan er det at være folkeskolelærer og skoleelev i Rusland idag? De russiske unge - i skolen, i fritiden og efter studentereksamen. Hvor ligger forskellen mellem dansk og russisk skoletradition - evaluering af de 10-årige udfordringer mellem skoler Århus og Skt. Petersborg. I samarbejde med <b>Aalborg Seminarium</b>



<p>Til forsiden</p> <p>Arrangementer</p> <p>DRF Aalborg</p> <p>Landsforeningen</p> <p>Russiske links</p> <p>Undervisning</p> <p>Månedens sprog</p> <p>Byen Puskin</p> <p>Kaliningrad</p> <p>Diverse</p> <p>Webmaster</p>	<p>udvalgte mellem skoler i Århus og Sct. Petersborg. I samarbejde med <a href="#">Aalborg Seminarium</a></p> <p><b>Russisk ortodoks gudstjeneste</b> Lørdag den 26. oktober kl. 16.30 Sted: Sct. <a href="#">Marie kirke</a> (Den katolske Kirke), Kastetvej 1, Aalborg.</p> <p><b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> Tirsdag den 22. oktober kl. 17 i Huset</p> <p><b>Den Russiske Ortodokse Kirke</b> Tirsdag den 1. oktober 2002, kl. 19 Sted: Huset, Hassersgade 10, Aalborg (Medlokalet). Foredrag v/ Arne Bugge, pastor emeritus og fhv. domprovst ved Vor Frue Kirke i København. På baggrund af den dramatiske udvikling igennem de sidste 100 år vil der blive tegnet et billede af den russiske kirke i dag. Der vil herudover blive givet en kort indføring i gudstjenesten. (Illustreret af nogle få eksempler fra ikonkunsten (transparenter)). Den russiske kirke dannedes i 988, da Kievriget gik over til den byzantinske udførelse af kristendommen. Med ca. 100 mio. medlemmer (1996) den største nationalkirke i verden. Senere i oktober afholdes der i Aalborg en russisk ortodoks gudstjeneste. (Læs mere om den ortodokse kirke <a href="#">her</a>) Pris 65,- kr. I samarbejde med <a href="#">Folkeuniversitetet i Aalborg</a></p> <p><b>August 2002</b> <b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> Tirsdag den 27. august kl. 17 i Huset</p> <p><b>Juni 2002</b> <b>Dansk-russisk sommerfrokost</b> Søndag d. 16. juni kl. 12 i <a href="#">Hammer Bakker</a> Se Thues <a href="#">billeder fra sommerfrokosten</a> <b>Konstituerende bestyrelsesmøde</b> Søndag d. 16. juni kl. 10.30 i <a href="#">Hammer Bakker</a></p> <p><b>Maj 2002</b> <b>Snoghøj-konference</b> 25.-26. maj <b>Dansk-Russisk Forenings Kongres</b> Lørdag den 25. maj <b>Hovedbestyrelsesmøde</b> Fredag den 24. maj i <a href="#">Snoghøj</a> <b>Generalforsamling</b> Mandag den 13. maj kl. 19 i Huset <a href="#">Bestyrelsesmøde</a></p>	<p>Til forsiden</p> <p>Arrangementer</p> <p>DRF Aalborg</p> <p>Landsforeningen</p> <p>Russiske links</p> <p>Undervisning</p> <p>Månedens sprog</p> <p>Byen Puskin</p> <p>Kaliningrad</p> <p>Diverse</p> <p>Webmaster</p> <p>Lørdag den 25. maj <b>Hovedbestyrelsesmøde</b> Fredag den 24. maj i <a href="#">Snoghøj</a> <b>Generalforsamling</b> Mandag den 13. maj kl. 19 i Huset <b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> Mandag den 13. maj kl. 17 i Huset</p> <p><b>April 2002</b> <b>NGO-Forum Sct. Petersborg</b> 18.-21. april <b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> Mandag den 15. april kl. 17 i Huset <b>Møde i Komi-gruppen</b> Torsdag den 11. april kl. 20.15 <b>Paramon-teatret, Sct. Petersborg</b> 2.-3. april</p> <p><b>Marts 2002</b> <b>Hovedbestyrelsesmøde</b> Lørdag 9. marts kl. 10.00, Sct. Jørgensgaard, Kolding <b>International kvindedag</b> Fredag den 8. marts kl. 19.00 Vi fejrer dagen med en sammenkomst i Huset, Hassersgade 10</p> <p><b>Februar 2002</b> <b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> Mandag d. 25. februar, kl. 17.00 i Huset</p> <p><b>Januar 2002</b> <b>Nytårsfrokost</b> Fredag den 25. januar <b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> Mandag den 7. januar kl. 17</p>
<p>Til forsiden</p> <p>Arrangementer</p> <p>DRF Aalborg</p> <p>Landsforeningen</p> <p>Russiske links</p> <p>Undervisning</p> <p>Månedens sprog</p> <p>Byen Puskin</p> <p>Kaliningrad</p> <p>Diverse</p> <p>Webmaster</p>	<p><b>Januar 2002</b> <b>Nytårsfrokost</b> Fredag den 25. januar <b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> Mandag den 7. januar kl. 17</p> <p><b>December 2001</b> <b>Foredrag om Kaliningrad</b> Mandag den 3. december kl. 19.30 i Huset med Niels Brusgaard og Hannah Jensen, Gug Skole Entré 30 kr. inklusive kaffe og kage. Fem år i træk har Niels Brusgaard og Hannah Jensen med elever fra Gug skole taget del i en årlig midtvejr i Kaliningrad og har efterhånden opnået en betydelig viden om Kaliningrad. Foredraget bliver holdt som et Mødestedsarrangement på Huset, så der er lagt op til en hyggelig aften med kaffe og kage samt underholdning med russisk sang og musik af Hannah Jensen på harmonika sammen med Mødestedets egne Minna Dalgaard og Poul Hansen. I samarbejde med Husets Mødested</p> <p><b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> Mandag den 3. december kl. 17 i Huset</p> <p><b>November 2001</b> <b>Hovedbestyrelsesmøde</b> Lørdag den 1. december i København kl. 12-17 <b>Ruslandskonference i Aalborg</b> Torsdag den 29. november kl. 14.15-16.30 i Aalborg Universitets Auditorium B, Kroghstræde, 9220 Aalborg Ø  Med deltagelse af tidligere udenrigs- og premierminister, leder af Fædrelandet Vjatseslav Durnakov, Jevgenij Primakov og lektor Mette Skak, Institut for Statskundskab, Århus Universitet <a href="#">Se programmet her.</a> <a href="#">Se billeder her.</a> <a href="#">Jevgenij Primakov</a> <b>Møde i Ruslandskonference-gruppen</b> Tirsdag den 27. november kl. 16 i Huset <b>Russiske tolke til studiebesøg fra Daugavpils (Letland)</b> 20. - 24. november <a href="#">Aldremobiliseringen i Aalborg</a> har besøg af en gruppe ældre <a href="#">russiske medborgere</a> fra Daugavpils (Dvinsk, Dunaburg) i det østligste Letland. Dansk-Russisk Forening hjælper med at skaffe tolke til det omfattende besøgsprogram. <a href="#">Se folkelisten her.</a></p>	<p>Til forsiden</p> <p>Arrangementer</p> <p>DRF Aalborg</p> <p>Landsforeningen</p> <p>Russiske links</p> <p>Undervisning</p> <p>Månedens sprog</p> <p>Byen Puskin</p> <p>Kaliningrad</p> <p>Diverse</p> <p>Webmaster</p> <p><b>Dansk-russisk aften med Rodnik</b>  Fredag den 23. november kl. 19 i Husets medelocale Foreningen for russisktalende i Aarhus <a href="#">Rodnik</a> informerer på russisk og dansk interesserede dansk-russiske par om et uke blandt de mange russisktalende i Aarhus og omegn. Mulighed for fællesspisning kl. 18. Dagens ret: 40 kr. - dessert: 10 kr. Forudbestilling hos Ulrik Eskildsen tlf. 98127466.  Søren Terp får testet sine sprogkundskaber...  mens Natalia Lisikins fortæller om Rodnik på russisk</p> <p><b>Oktober 2001</b> <b>Dansk-russisk aften - Dostojevskij</b>  Mandag den 29. oktober i Huset, Hassersgade 10 fra kl. 17.30: Russisk mad i Husets Café og kl. 20.00: Peter og Morten Steen i <a href="#">Fjodor Dostojevskijs monolog Barnebruden</a> En 41-årig panteilner giver sig med en fattig 16-årig pige - deres forhold præges af hans tidligere liv som retsaffør officer. Mad &amp; forestilling: 100 kr. - uden mad 80 kr. <b>Forsalg:</b> Frit Oplysningsforbund tlf. 98128844 Huset tlf. 98167666 <b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> Mandag den 29. oktober kl. 17 i Huset <b>Møde i Ruslands-konference-udvalget</b> Søndag den 28. oktober kl. 13.30, Gildsgvej 20</p>



<p>Til forsiden</p> <p>Arrangementer</p> <p>DRF Aalborg</p> <p>Landsforeningen</p> <p>Russiske links</p> <p>Undervisning</p> <p>Månedens sprog</p> <p>Byen Puskin</p> <p>Kaliningrad</p> <p>Diverse</p> <p>Webmaster</p>	<p>Gratis entré</p> <p><b>KALININGRAD</b> Tirsdag den 24. oktober kl. 19.30 Huset (Hassersigade 10)</p> <p>Foredrag af kontorleder Stig Norsk. Stig Norsk fra Aalborg kommune fortæller om kommunens spændende samarbejde med Kaliningrad - en russisk by med tætte politiske, kulturelle og folkelige relationer til Aalborg.</p> <p>Foredraget indledes med forevisningen af dokumentarfilmen "Königsberg Express". Efter Anden Verdenskrig afstod Tyskland Königsberg (i dag Kaliningrad) til Sovjetunionen. 12 millioner tyskere måtte forlade deres hjem. Filmen følger tre søstres rejse tilbage til den fædres, de ikke har set i 50 år. I dokumentarfilmen vises film fra de russiske arkiver, som ikke tidligere har været tilgængelige i Vesten.</p> <p>Sverige, 1995. 41 min. Danske undertekster. Instruktører: Björn Cederberg, Kristian Petri og Jan Roed.</p> <p>Gratis entré</p> <p><b>"ONSDAG"</b> Mandag den 23. oktober kl. 19.30 Medborgerhuset (Rendsburggade 2)</p> <p>Den russiske instruktør Viktor Kossakovskij opser i denne personlige dokumentarfilm alle de mennesker, der er født samme tid og sted, som han selv, nemlig den 19. juli 1961 i Leningrad. 101 forskellige menneskeskæbner, der bl.a. sammen tegner et broget billede af livet i Rusland i slutningen af halvseerne.</p> <p>Rusland, 1997. 90 min. Danske undertekster. Instruktør: Victor Kossakovskij.</p> <p>Gratis entré</p> <p><b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> Mandag, den 9. oktober kl. 17 i Huset</p> <p><b>Ikon-udstilling</b> 2. oktober - 26. november i Husets cafeteria. Gratis entré.</p> <p>Præsentation af en række af de centrale ikoner fra Ruslands fascinerende historie og religiøse liv. De udstillede ikoner er farvekopier af originaler.</p>	<p>Til forsiden</p> <p>Arrangementer</p> <p>DRF Aalborg</p> <p>Landsforeningen</p> <p>Russiske links</p> <p>Undervisning</p> <p>Månedens sprog</p> <p>Byen Puskin</p> <p>Kaliningrad</p> <p>Diverse</p> <p>Webmaster</p>	<p><b>August 2001</b> 25. - 26. august</p> <p><b>Hovedbestyrelsesmøde og Snoghejkonference</b> Mandag den 13. august kl. 17 i Huset</p> <p><b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> Mandag den 13. august kl. 17 i Huset</p> <p><b>Juni 2001</b></p> <p><b>Møde i Komi-gruppen</b> Onsdag den 27. juni kl. 18 hos Thomas Heuriche</p> <p><b>Billeder fra Dansk-Russisk sommerfrokost</b> Søndag den 17. juni 2001 hos Natasha og Tommy i Hou</p> <p><b>Konstituerende bestyrelsesmøde</b> Mandag den 11. juni kl. 17 i Huset</p> <p><b>Maj 2001</b></p> <p><b>Generalforsamling</b> Mandag den 14. maj kl. 19.00 i Det røde Værelse, Huset, Hassersigade 10, Aalborg</p> <p><b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> Mandag den 14. maj kl. 17 i Huset</p> <p><b>April 2001</b></p> <p><b>Ivan den Grusomme</b> Onsdag den 18. april kl. 19 i Peepshoppen, Kattesundet 10 Eisensteins filmklassiker om zar Ivan den Grusomme. Entré 20 kr.</p> <p><b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> Tirsdag den 10. april kl. 17 i Huset</p> <p><b>Spejlet</b> Tirsdag den 3. april kl. 19 i Peepshoppen, Kattesundet 10 Andrej Tarkovskijs mest personlige film. Entré 20 kr.</p> <p><b>Marts 2001</b></p> <p><b>Dansk-russisk aften</b> <b>Ved siden af</b> - en mini-opera af Michael Ramløse. Mandag 26. marts kl. 19.30 Mødestedet, Huset</p> <p>Ved siden af handler om to ensomme mennesker, der begge er forelskede i hinanden - på afstand. Kom selv og oplev hvordan Irina Kovalenko, Maxim Pachkov får kærligheden at føle. Polina Fradkina akkompagnerer. Forestillingen varer cirka 50 minutter, og derefter bydes der på russisk musik og sang.</p>
<p>Til forsiden</p> <p>Arrangementer</p> <p>DRF Aalborg</p> <p>Landsforeningen</p> <p>Russiske links</p> <p>Undervisning</p> <p>Månedens sprog</p> <p>Byen Puskin</p> <p>Kaliningrad</p> <p>Diverse</p> <p>Webmaster</p>	<p><b>September 2000</b></p> <p><b>Hovedbestyrelsesmøde</b> Den 30. september 2000</p> <p><b>Polina Rusland</b> Mandag den 18. september kl. 18-20 i Huset. Foredrag ved lektor, fil.dr. Marta-Lisa Magnusson, Syddansk Universitet. I samarbejde med Folkemusikalskole, der modtager tilmelding. Pris: Kr. 60 (sammen med foredraget den 31/10 kr. 95,-).</p> <p><b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> Mandag den 11. september kl. 17 i Huset</p> <p><b>August 2000</b></p> <p><b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> Mandag den 7. august kl. 17.00 i Huset.</p> <p><b>Juni 2000</b></p> <p><b>Hovedbestyrelsesmøde og kursus</b> Den 17.-18. juni 2000 på Snoghej IT-højskole</p> <p><b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> Tirsdag den 6. juni kl. 17.00 i Huset.</p> <p><b>Maj 2000</b></p> <p><b>Generalforsamling</b> Onsdag den 17. maj kl. 19 i Huset (modelokalet).</p> <p>Dagsorden i følge vedtagterne.</p> <p><b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> Onsdag den 17. maj kl. 18 i Huset.</p> <p><b>April 2000</b></p> <p><b>Solsjentsyns liv, forfatterskab og tanker</b> Onsdag den 26. april kl. 19 i Huset (Modelokalet).</p> <p>Thomas Heuriche holder foredrag om den russiske forfatter Alexander Solsjentsyn, der var officer under 2. Verdenskrig, Gulag-fange under Ståle, rehabiliteret under Kruštjov, og forfatter i Schweiz og USA og fejret som en russisk messias, da han vendte tilbage til Rusland i maj 1994. Foredraget vil byde på en præsentation af Solsjentsyns fascinerende liv og levned, en introduktion til hans forfatterskab og en gennemgang af hans idé-univers.</p> <p><b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> Onsdag den 26. april kl. 17.00 i Huset.</p> <p><b>Dansk-russisk aften / Paramon Teatret</b> Mandag den 10. april kl. 19 i Huset.</p> <p>Paramon Teatret fra Skt. Petersborg opfører: Tigreren, som altid var sulten. Det er en romantisk og musikalsk historie om en nysgerrig og evig sulten tiger, der kun kan få sit sult ved at høre om eventyr. Stykket varer 45 min. Efter forestillingen er der musik og sang med Husets faste</p>	<p>Til forsiden</p> <p>Arrangementer</p> <p>DRF Aalborg</p> <p>Landsforeningen</p> <p>Russiske links</p> <p>Undervisning</p> <p>Månedens sprog</p> <p>Byen Puskin</p> <p>Kaliningrad</p> <p>Diverse</p> <p>Webmaster</p>	<p><b>Februar 2001</b></p> <p><b>Dansk-russisk aften</b> Torsdag den 8. marts kl. 18.30-21 <b>Aflyst.</b></p> <p><b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> Tirsdag den 6. marts kl. 17 i Huset</p> <p><b>Kirken i dagens Rusland</b> Foredrag med lektor Karsten Fledelius Onsdag den 28. februar kl. 19.00 i Hassens Kirkes sal, Thorsens Allé 2 Fri entré</p> <p><b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> Mandag den 12. februar kl. 17.00 i Huset</p> <p><b>Februar 2000</b></p> <p><b>Hovedbestyrelsesmøde</b> Mødestedet, Huset</p> <p>Ved siden af handler om to ensomme mennesker, der begge er forelskede i hinanden - på afstand. Kom selv og oplev hvordan Irina Kovalenko, Maxim Pachkov får kærligheden at føle. Polina Fradkina akkompagnerer. Forestillingen varer cirka 50 minutter, og derefter bydes der på russisk musik og sang.</p> <p>I anledningen af de russiske gæster serveres russisk mad i Husets Café fra kl. 17.30.</p> <p>Entre og mad, kaffe og kage: 60,- kr. Entre alene: 30,- kr. dog inklusiv kaffe og kage. Forsalg: Huset - 98 16 76 66</p> <p><b>Paramon opfører Petrusjka</b> Børneteater på udvalgte institutioner i Aalborg Kommune.</p> <p><b>Min barndom</b> Mandag den 19. marts kl. 19 i Peepshoppen, Kattesundet 10 Filmsætning af 1. del af Maxim Gorkijs erindringer. Entré 20 kr.</p> <p><b>Foreningskonference</b> Torsdag den 15. marts kl. 16.30-20.30 i Huset (Salen), Hassersigade 10</p>

<p>Til forsiden</p> <p>Arrangementer</p> <p>DRF Aalborg</p> <p>Landsforeningen</p> <p>Russiske links</p> <p>Undervisning</p> <p>Månedens sprog</p> <p>Byen Puskin</p> <p>Kaliningrad</p> <p>Diverse</p> <p>Webmaster</p>	<p>Arrangører: Dansk Russisk Forening i samarbejde med Huset.</p> <p><b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> Mandag den 30. oktober kl. 16.30 i Huset</p> <p><b>SOLARIS</b> Lørdag den 28. oktober kl. 13.30 Nordjyllands Kunstmuseum</p> <p><i>En filmisk rejse ud i rummet - og ned i sjælens dybde.</i></p> <p>Oplev den skolelættende russiske sciencefiction film Solaris. Filmen regnes for en klassiker på linie med Stanley Kubricks Rumrejsen År 2001. Solaris er instrueret af den russiske filminstruktør Andrej Tarkovskij, og bygger på en fortælling af den polske sci-fi forfatter Stanislaw Lem. En amerikansk remake er under forberedelse med James Cameron (Titanic &amp; Terminator) som ankermand. Sovjetunionen, 1972. 160 min. Danske undertekster.</p> <p>Gratis entré - ønskes adgang til selve museet, betales normal entré. Filmen vil blive afbrudt af en kort pause, hvor museets cafe vil være åben.</p> <p><b>DEN RUSSISKE IDÉ &amp; RUSSISK AVANTGARDE</b> Torsdag den 25. oktober kl. 19.30 Medborgerhuset</p> <p><b>Den russiske idé</b></p> <p>I anledning af filmens 100 års fødselsdag i 1996 producerede Det Britiske Filminstitut en serie dokumentarfilm instrueret af kendte filmfolk fra hele verden. Afsnittet om russisk film er en filosofisk montage, der undersøger hvordan begrebet Den Russiske Idé er reflekteret i filmkunsten. Storslåede forestillinger - religiøse eller politiske - om en strålende utopisk fremtid har præget russisk kunst gennem de forskellige historiske epoker. Filmen er en montage af 100 års russisk film, med klip af blandt andre Sergej Eisenstein, Vsevolod Pudovkin og Dziga Vertov. Storbritannien, 1995. 52 min. Danske undertekster. Instruktør: Sergei Seljanov.</p> <p><b>Russisk avantgarde</b></p> <p>Filmen skildrer en turbulent epoke i nyere russisk historie igennem en gruppe personligheder på den russiske kunsts scene i begyndelsen af århundredet: Malevich, Filonov, Tatlin samt ideolog og kommissær Nikolaj Punn. Det er en dramatisk historie om en gruppe radikale kunstnere, der dedikerede deres liv til revolutionen, men senere blev forrådt af det kommunistiske styre. Først med perestrojka er museernes kældere blevet åbnet, og de originale værker blevet tilgængelige. Danmark, Rusland, 1999. 54 min. Instruktør: Alexander Krivosos.</p>	<p>Til forsiden</p> <p>Arrangementer</p> <p>DRF Aalborg</p> <p>Landsforeningen</p> <p>Russiske links</p> <p>Undervisning</p> <p>Månedens sprog</p> <p>Byen Puskin</p> <p>Kaliningrad</p> <p>Diverse</p> <p>Webmaster</p>	<p><b>Januar 2000</b></p> <p><b>Dansk-russisk nytårsfrokost</b> Fredag den 21. januar 2000 kl. 19.30 (!!) i Husets Café</p> <p><b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> 3. januar kl. 17.00 i Huset.</p> <p><b>December 1999</b></p> <p><b>Penge til AIDS-information i Kaliningrad.</b> Gaveoverrækkelse tors. d. 16. dec. 1999.</p> <p>Møde i <b>arbejdsgruppen Dansk-russiske aftener</b>, tirsdag den 14. dec. kl. 19 i Husets cafe</p> <p><b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b>, mandag den 6. dec. kl. 17 i Huset</p> <p><b>November 1999</b></p> <p><b>Dansk-Russisk Aften</b>, mandag den 22. november 1999 kl. 19 i Huset</p> <p><b>Harmonikkakonzert</b> - torsdag den 18. november 1999 kl. 19.30 i samarbejde med Trekanten og Aalborg Harmonikaklub</p> <p>Møde i <b>arbejdsgruppen Dansk-russiske aftener</b>, torsdag den 12. nov. kl. 19 i Husets cafe</p> <p><b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b>, mandag den 25. okt. kl. 17 i Huset</p> <p><b>Oktober 1999</b></p> <p><b>Kunstforedrag og fotokunst fra Kaliningrad</b> - den 2.-24. oktober 1999 i samarbejde med Aalborg Kunstpavillon</p> <p><b>Studiebesøg fra Kaliningrad</b>, 1.-17. oktober 1999</p> <p><b>Russisk folkekunst og russisk mad</b> - fredag den 8. oktober 1999 kl. 20.00 i samarbejde med Huset</p> <p><b>September 1999</b></p> <p><b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> 27. september kl. 17.00 i Huset.</p> <p><b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> Mandag den 6. sep. kl. 16 i Huset.</p>
<p>Til forsiden</p> <p>Arrangementer</p> <p>DRF Aalborg</p> <p>Landsforeningen</p> <p>Russiske links</p> <p>Undervisning</p> <p>Månedens sprog</p> <p>Byen Puskin</p> <p>Kaliningrad</p> <p>Diverse</p> <p>Webmaster</p>	<p><b>April 2000</b></p> <p><b>Solsjentsyns liv, forfatterskab og tanker</b> Onsdag den 26. april kl. 19 i Huset (Medelokalet).</p> <p>Thomas Heuniche holder foredrag om den russiske forfatter Alexander Solsjentsyn, der var officer under 2. Verdenskrig, Gulag-fange under Stalin, rehabiliteret under Kruštjov, exil-forfatter i Schweiz og USA og fejret som en russisk messias, da han vendte tilbage til Rusland i maj 1994. Foredraget vil byde på en en presentation af Solsjentsyns fascinerende liv og levned, en introduktion til hans forfatterskab og en gennemgang af hans idé-univers.</p> <p><b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> Onsdag den 26. april kl. 17.00 i Huset.</p> <p><b>Dansk-russisk aften / Paramon Teatret</b> Mandag den 10. april kl. 19 i Huset.</p> <p>Paramon Teatret fra Skt. Petersborg opfører: Tigren, som altid var sulten. Det er en romanisk og musikalsk historie om en nysgerrig og evig sulten tiger, der kun kan få stillet sin sult ved at høre om eventyr. Stykket varer 45 min. Efter forestillingen er der musik og sang med Husets faste duo Minna og Poul. Entré 20 kr. (incl. kaffe/te &amp; kage).</p> <p><b>Marts 2000</b></p> <p><b>Russisk malerkunst fra Zarernes Rusland (1500 - 1800)</b> Onsdag den 22. marts kl. 19 i Huset (Medelokalet)</p> <p>Dias-foredrag, hvor Otto Carlsen viser et uddrag af sin imponerende dias-samling med russisk malerkunst og kommenterer billederne.</p> <p><b>Dansk-russisk aften</b> Fredag den 18. marts kl. 19 i Huset (Teaterloftet)</p> <p>Vi fejrer Den Internationale Kvindedag (med 2 dages forsinkelse). I Rusland er dagen fortsat officiel festdag, alle kvinders dag: mødre, bedstemødre, søstre, døtre, hustruer og kærester.</p> <p><b>Februar 2000</b></p> <p><b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> 28. februar kl. 17.00 i Huset.</p> <p><b>Dansk-russisk aften</b> Fredag den 18. februar kl. 19 i Huset (Teaterloftet).</p> <p><b>Hovedbestyrelsesmøde</b> Lørdag den 12. februar 2000 hos AIF</p>	<p>Til forsiden</p> <p>Arrangementer</p> <p>DRF Aalborg</p> <p>Landsforeningen</p> <p>Russiske links</p> <p>Undervisning</p> <p>Månedens sprog</p> <p>Byen Puskin</p> <p>Kaliningrad</p> <p>Diverse</p> <p>Webmaster</p>	<p><b>Januar 2001</b></p> <p><b>Nytårsfrokost</b> Fredag den 26. januar kl. 18.30 i SID's lokaler, Søndergade 62, 4. sal Pris: 55. kr. Tilmelding senest den 22/1 tlf. 98174817</p> <p><b>Hovedbestyrelsesmøde (med ambassadarbesøg)</b> Lørdag den 20. januar kl. 10-16 i Odense</p> <p><b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> Torsdag den 4. januar kl. 17.00 i Huset</p> <p><b>December 2000</b></p> <p><b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> Mandag den 4. december kl. 17.00 i Huset</p> <p><b>November 2000</b></p> <p><b>Ikø-udstilling</b> 2. oktober - 26. november i Husets cafeteria. Gratis entré. Præsentation af en række af de centrale ikoner fra Ruslands fascinerende historie og religiøse liv. De udstillede ikoner er farvekopier af originaler.</p> <p><b>Oktober 2000</b></p> <p><b>Russisk mentalitet</b> Tirsdag den 31. oktober kl. 19-21 i Huset. Foredrag ved cand.phil. Thomas Heuniche, Dansk-Russisk Forening, Aalborg Afd. I samarbejde med <b>Folkuniversitetet</b>, der modtager tilmelding. Pris: Kr. 60 (sammen med foredraget den 18/9 kr. 95,-).</p> <p><b>Tre russere kommer til byen og gi'r koncert</b> Mandag den 30. oktober kl. 19 i Huset, Hassensgade 10</p> <p>Tre musikere fra Skt. Petersborg: Paulina Fradkova ( klaver ), Maxim Pachkov ( guitar ) og Irina Kovalenko ( vokal ) præsenterer et populært klassisk repertoire af russiske komponister - først og fremmest Tsjajkovskij. De tre spiller sammen med to af vore egne: Minna Dalgaard og Poul Hansen, begge kendt fra Husets mødested og Poul fra Hopsaspillemændene.</p> <p>De tre har alle været Dansk-Russisk Forening tidligere, men det var med et dukkteater for børn. Dette er en forestilling for voksne.</p> <p>I anledning af besøget står menuen i Huset på god, solid russisk mad. Den serveres fra kl. 17.30.</p> <p>Entre og mad: 80,- kr. Entre: 60,- kr. Forsalg: Huset 98 16 76 66 eller Leo Pilgaard tlf. 98 17 48 17</p> <p>Arrangører: Dansk Russisk Forening i samarbejde med Huset.</p> <p><b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> Mandag den 30. oktober kl. 16.30 i Huset</p>
<p>Arrangementer</p> <p>DRF Aalborg</p> <p>Landsforeningen</p> <p>Russiske links</p> <p>Undervisning</p> <p>Månedens sprog</p> <p>Byen Puskin</p> <p>Kaliningrad</p> <p>Diverse</p> <p>Webmaster</p>	<p><b>September 1999</b></p> <p><b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> 27. september kl. 17.00 i Huset.</p> <p><b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b> Mandag den 6. sep. kl. 16 i Huset.</p> <p><b>August 1999</b></p> <p>Lille <b>Puskin-udstilling</b> til den 28. august 1999 i Hovedbiblioteket ved nedgangen til magasinet i anledning af 200-året for den russiske nationaldigter Aleksandr Pusjkins fødsel.</p> <p><b>Akvareluudstilling</b> i Husets galleri den 18.-26. august 1999 med akvareller vedrørende Pusjkins liv og digtning. Udstillingen <b>åbner onsdag den 18. august kl. 19.30</b></p> <p>(Korbesøg fra Puskin 17.-26. august 1999 i samarbejde med Aalborg Kommune, Klarup Pigekor og Aalborg Katedralskole <b>er desværre aflyst</b>)</p> <p><b>Puskin-aften</b> med lektor Kjeld Bjørnager, Aarhus Universitet, torsdag den 24. august 1999 kl. 19.30 i Foredragssalen i Medborgerhuset</p> <p><b>Bestyrelsesmøde</b>, Tirs. den 3. aug. kl. 16 i Huset</p> <p>Møde med Venskabsbysekretariatet vedr. kor fra Puskin, tirs. den 3. aug. kl. 13</p> <p><b>Juli 1999</b></p> <p>Møde med Venskabsbysekretariatet vedr. kor fra Puskin, tors. den 22. juli kl. 9</p> <p>Møde med Venskabsbysekretariatet vedr. kor fra Puskin, ons. den 14. juli kl. 9.15</p> <p><b>Juni 1999</b></p> <p>Møde med Venskabsbysekretariatet, vedr. kor fra Puskin, ons. den 23. juni kl. 9.30</p> <p><b>Maj 1999</b></p> <p><b>Moscow Art Trio</b>, Torsdag den 20. maj 1999 kl 20 (efter generalforsamlingen)</p> <p><b>Generalforsamling</b> torsdag den 20.maj 1999</p> <p><b>Marts 1999</b></p> <p><b>Villy Fuglsangs 90 års fødselsdagsforedrag</b> den 18. marts 1999</p> <p><b>Januar 1999</b></p> <p><b>Nytårsfrokost</b> den 29.januar 1999</p>		

## Appendix III.2

RUSFORUM:

DISCUSSION TOPIC “WHAT CLOTHES DO THEY WEAR IN DENMARK?, COLOUR, STYLE”

< [HTTP://RUSFORUM.DK/INDEX.PHP?SHOWTOPIC=20348](http://rusforum.dk/index.php?showtopic=20348)>

OPENED: JULY 9, 2010

ACCESSED: [SEPTEMBER, 2010]

TOPIC IS ACTIVE

26 Sep 2010, 06:33 PM Сообщение #139

точно!!!  
я вот секси и довольна цобой - без одежды))))

Зачем о себе говорить, когда тут каждый второй тебе и в лицо и за глаза скажет всё, что думает

Любая **красивая** девушка (я, ни в коем разе, не подразумеваю dear Shanel, дабы не персонифицировать кого-либо и, тем паче, не дать повода для разных необоснованных толков; прибавлю: что, конкретно, сие персонаж я не лицезрел воочию), так вот **любая красивая** дива, готова к совершенно любому комментарию со стороны окружающих. Мало того, негативные высказывания только сильнее утвердят девушку в её же уверенности, и возможно, непереоцененном её самой, внутренней сексуальности. Ведь красота в этом аспекте может быть, как субъективной, так и объективной. Субъективная красота – это когда девушка сама себе заявляет и свято верит в это. Апропо, очень часто такие самозаявления являются самозащитой от того, что на самом деле нет и в помине. А, объективная красота – это когда окружающие подтверждают факт её красоты. А в какой форме это происходит, уже не столь важно. В одних случаях это выражено в виде разного рода комментариях от представительниц её же пола, и в противовес, комментариях со стороны противоположного пола. Любая внешняя реакция (при этом не важно какого она будет характера) – есть явное подтверждение, что персонаж заметили, а значит, она – есть, и это уже невозможно отрицать.

Шанель  
При твоём правильном образе жизни и тренировках на тебе все должно сидеть в тютельку, я думаю. Не одежда красит человека, а как раз наоборот.

Dear почтенная жопошница тата!  
А никто и не оспаривает этот факт.  
К слову, сразу вспомнил мысль, которую изложил доктор Равик в романе Эриха Мариа Ремарка «Триумфальная арка», увидев свою возлюбленную Жоан Маду, что она шла в каком-то невзрачном пальтишке, но её красота и то, с каким достоинством она носила это пальто, создавало впечатление, что ..... (за точность текста не гарантирую, но смысл именно в том, что на красивой девушке, которая носит даже рвань, но с большим достоинством - всё будет идти и всё красиво.)

У меня просто шок, когда вижу датчанок в драных колготках...  
Мне б было рядом с такой девушкой пройти стыдно...Неужели это нормально?  
Видимо, я еще не настолько интегрировался, чтобы рваные колготки меня не шокировали. А еще когда штаны заправляют в носки.

А я никогда бы не имел шок. Не вижу ничего стыдного. Мне видится, неважно в чём пришёл объект твоего интереса, главное: он пришёл, и пришёл - к тебе по взаимной договорённости и, наверное, взаимному интересу. Вот то, что сам, мужчина, должен быть в соответствии своего стиля – это верно, а девушка может экспериментировать над собой, как ей заблагорассудится и как она хочет, на то она и девушка! Пусть приходит в драных колготках! По мне: лучше в чулках, особенно когда слегка виден кант – это так пикантно! А драные они, или в зацепах – не важно!  
К тому же, девушки значительно лучше нас, мужчин, знают и понимают: как ей надо выглядеть и какой ситуации чему должен соответствовать её дресс-код. Здесь надо ей отдать карт бланш.

а им как-то все равно, что вам стыдно.... Они с вами ходить не собираются... У них комплексов нет.

Совершенно верно! На всё надо смотреть с большим юмором и объективным принятием сегодняшней тенденции в одежде девушек! Важнее само наличие их, девушек, а какая на них одежда это вопрос N-ый.

боже каквам сложно жить... А штаны с открытой попой до половины борозды -тоже шокируют? В Саудовской аравии тетки ходят с паранджой - очень прилично, и мужики тоже закрыты в халаты. Там вы хоть мучиться не будете.

Цитата(Tanuki @ Sep 25 2010, 07:46 PM) ☐

А штаны с открытой попой - ну это ничего 😊

Вот видите, dear Tanuki! Сразу согласились на штаны с открытой попой до половины борозды – и не шокирует! Неужели, если с Вами встретится прелестная шалунья в таком пикантном виде, Вы сразу же начнёте проверять: рваные у неё чулки, или нет!? Ш-ш-шалу-унья!!!

Не знаю Вашего ответа, но свои виды я уже изложил.

К тому же не забывайте, что девушка может Вас просто тестировать и смотреть на Вашу реакцию. Ведь неизвестно, что у них в голове! Если уж сам З.Фрейд не смог постичь, то куда уж нам!

А вот мне нравится , когда узкие джинсы заправлены в высокие сапоги , сама всю прошлую зиму так проходила ( к тому же , такая одежда весьма практична в холода и дожди ) . Только сапоги , естественно , нужно выбирать не слишком вызывающие : а то , обув нечто из PVC , да и на километровых шпильках - можно сойти за представительницу весьма специфической профессии ;-)

.....« можно сойти за представительницу весьма специфической профессии»..... - мне думается это необоснованные предрассудки. Не беспокойтесь – не подумают! А если кто подумает и решится спросить, я полагаю, что ответить у Вас найдётся такому «любопытному» , чтоб больше не спрашивал!?

К тому же, мужчинам (не буду утверждать за всех) часто импонирует, когда девушка может быть в какой-то момент развратницей, но, и здесь важно: лично для него, при определённых и располагающих к тому, обстоятельствах.

я помню, когда я первая (ну не знаю, первая ли, по крайней мере, в нашем городе никого так не видела) начала так одеваться (ещё в институте учились) - джинсы заправлять в высокие сапоги (потому что мне нравился кавалерийский стиль), на меня так странно смотрели, т.к. никто тогда так не одевался, а сейчас это вошло в моду. 😊

Женская обувь в представлении многих мужчин (не буду утверждать за всех), это не только обувь – но и заключительная деталь женской ноги. На красивых ногах **красивая** обувь смотрится всегда шикарно.

Созерцая такой вид, сравниваешь себя с посетителем Эйфелевой Башни: Чем выше – тем захватывающе!

Сие - есть только моя точка зрения, без навязывания кому-либо. А уж что подумают обо мне, так это, вообще, неважно. Как говорится - к чужим мнениям, подчас жутким - не привыкать!

Со ☐

В общем, всё как всегда: Люди – они и есть люди, вот только датский вопрос их испортил!

### Appendix III.3

**RUSFORUM:**

**DISCUSSION TOPIC “AND AGAIN ABOUT KINDERGARTENS., PLEASE TELL ALL THE DETAILS!”**

< [HTTP://RUSFORUM.DK/INDEX.PHP?SHOWTOPIC=16476&ST=100](http://RUSFORUM.DK/INDEX.PHP?SHOWTOPIC=16476&ST=100) >

**OPENED: JULY 9, 2009**

**CLOSED: JULY, 2009**

ACCESSED: [JULY, 2009]

Опции ▾

Сообщение #1

Как оно там,в садиках? Есть ли дети-иностранцы?Как они адаптируются к языку и пр.?  
Чем садики отличаются от наших? Как смотрят за детьми? Чем кормят? Сколько и как гуляют? Чему учат? Куда водят? Спят ли днём? Сколько человек в группе?  
Заранее спасибо!

НАВЕРХ

ЦИТАТА

ОТВЕТ

Сообщение #2

У меня двое старших ходят второй месяц. Очень им нравится. Язык потихоньку учат, вообще как-то без проблем.  
Вот недавно ходили в зоопарк, еще куда-то ездили.  
Иностранцев много, мы, впрочем, тоже иностранцы 😊  
На улице они там, похоже, почти весь день. Там прямо из комнаты выход на игровую площадку на улице, и детки бегают туда сюда сколько хотят.  
В нашем садике не готовят, слышала, что так почти везде. Просто кладем еду им с собой, там могут подогреть.  
В группе около 10 человек, но играют они там все вместе, на сколько я поняла.  
Днем не спят, но мои и дома не спят.  
На счет чему учат, как мне сказали в садике, они готовят их к школе, как тут готовят к школе не имею понятия 😊  
А вообще садик существенно отличается от наших, по моим представлениям и насколько я знаю наши садики, так как последний из моих племянников туда ходил лет 5 назад.  
Вот как-то так, но это только в том садике, куда ходят мои дети, про другие не знаю 😊

НАВЕРХ

ЦИТАТА

ОТВЕТ

Сообщение #3

А что же делать,если ребёнок привык днём спать? Да ещё по два с половиной часа?  
Как по вашему,там за ними присмотр и отношение лучше чем у нас? У ваших деток совсем не было дискомфорта из за языка?  
Заранее спасибо за ответы. 😊

Jul 11 2009, 09:49 PM

Сообщение #18

очередная песня Нибелунгов: как страшно жить. какое отвратительное воспитание и детские ~~исправительные~~ учреждения. как из датских детей становятся допропорядочные и вполне успешные, а также здоровые, не побоюсь этого слова, граждане - вопрос остается открытым.

везде нужно делать ресерч, какой сад (это касается всех детских и, не только, активитетов) является более популярным (лично являться - разговаривать с персоналом, читать информацию в интернете и тд). наш сад я ждала полтора года из-за длинного листа ожидания, ибо мне понравилась методика - реджио эмилио: уроки развития - ежедневный креатив в мастерской, каждый день снимают автобус для поездок в парки, dyrhaven, jazz фестиваль, frilandsmuseet и тд. недавно девица моя участвовала в театральной постановке; все содержания дня описывается на интернет страничке самого сада, так что в курсе, чем занимался твой ребенок; своя кухня, спят на улице в колясках практически всегда - те, кому это надо. дети за последние три года не болели практически ни дня.

у скандинавских отроков одни из самых высоких показателей по "удовлетворенности" от дет. сада/школы в целом, можно посмотреть статистику в интернете - так что....и да, зависит все, конечно, от родителей - развивать и развлекать, что я считаю вполне логичным. imho

-----

*Извините, если кого обидела*

С [redacted]

Куда: интернет, только родители

Jul 11 2009, 07:14 PM

Сообщение #17

смотря как вы ко всему относитесь, в принципе.... по мне так отвратительные условия.. Кормят сухими пайками, дети бегают больные с соплями до колен, на улице могут гулять в холод в футболках, т.к. воспитателям по фиг, они считают, что дети лучше знают, и если ребенок говорит, что ему не холодно, то так оно и есть.. Ну что еще.. Да, никаких развивающих занятий нет, утренняя там и прочего.. Постоянно то вши то ветрянки то еще че-нить. Но детям как будто нравится, т.к. полная свобода

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*If you are going through hell, keep going*

НАВЕРХ

ЦИТАТА

ОТВЕТ

Jul 11 2009, 07:14 PM

Сообщение #17

А что же делать,если ребёнок привык днём спать? Да ещё по два с половиной часа?

Как по вашему,там за ними присмотр и отношение лучше чем у нас? У ваших деток совсем не было дискомфорта из за языка?

Заранее спасибо за ответы. 😊

мои дети первые недели две в садике спать укладывались, а потом перестали. хотя пока не начали ходить в садик, спали днем часа по два точно. и ничего. правда, утром мы не раньше семи - полвосьмого встаем, так что они за ночь высыпались.


присмотр нормальный. отношение отличное, но может нам просто с садиком повезло... главное, что воспитателям не безразличны дети. и никто и никогда голоса не повысит.

из-за языка проблем не было. пока не пошли в садик, по-русски говорили и понимали лучше, чем по-датски. за месяц-два оба языка сравнялись, потом датский стал явно доминирующим. сейчас оба языка примерно одинаковые. в садике воспитатели проводили языковое тестирование, сказали, что по уровню развития языка мои двуязычные дети ничем не хуже "чисто датских". у нас в группе пятеро двуязычных деток, с ними периодически дополнительно занимаются, стишки учат и т.п.

много гуляют, ходят на прогулки в город, в музеи, в театр и на экскурсии. занятий, правда, как таковых нет, но делают массу поделок. к школе тоже готовят, но, ясно дело, что не так, как в России.

одно удручает, что давно ремонта не было, все такое "попользованное"... : ((( (но детям до этого дела нет : )



 Jul 11 2009, 10:43 PM

---

я и сама была, и брата меньшого водила, и своего.. и куча подружек тама, так что на самом деле реально есть с чем сравнить..

---

Блин, ребеныш у нас в садик ходит..У моего мужа сестра и два брата младших..У них дети есть..И в школу и в сад ходят..И вообще в семье детки гимназического возраста есть. А наши мужья ведь тоже в этой системе выросли..А мы за них не побоялись замуж выйти. Ну чего панику то разводить????!! все вырасли адекватными гражданами в своих странах, выращенные на той или иной культуре детских учреждений. я думаю, вам надо встретиться))

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Особенно удовлетворенная улыбка на лице "скандинавской нанан", наблюдающей истерику малыша, потрясает как в фильме ужаса.

какие действия должна произвести женщина, у которой есть всего, предположим, полчаса на покупку продуктов из-за усталости ребенка? наручники, плетка, крик, угрозы, тряска коляски или тушки ребенка, отвлечение его внимание на пасту или деликатессы?спокойствие, выдержка, понимание первопричины истерики ребенка - быстрый шопинг и уже напоследок предложение сладкой булки, как подарок за причиненную травму от магазина. как разговаривают русскоговорящие барышни со своими детьми на Родине мы не будем обсуждать, ай хоуп.

Сообщение отредактировал **wattson** - Jul 11 2009, 10:37 PM

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Извините, если кого обидела

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Спасибо сказали:  
**KPS, nekto.**



## Appendix III.4

RUSFORUM:

DISCUSSION TOPIC "WHAT ARE YOU HAVING FOR DINNER/SUPPER?, SHARE AN IDEA WITH YOUR NEIGHBOUR ))"

< [HTTP://RUSFORUM.DK/INDEX.PHP?SHOWTOPIC=4795](http://rusforum.dk/index.php?showtopic=4795)>

OPENED: JUNE 25, 2006

ACCESSED: [AUGUST 2008]

TOPIC IS ACTIVE

Что у вас на обед\ужин?, Поделись идеей с ближним))

Опции ▾

Jun 25 2006, 12:21 PM Сообщение #1

Давайте делится здесь рецептами или просто идеями,кто что готовит на ужин.Может это поможет кому то с выбором меню на вечер 😊

Первые блюда  
Лагман  
Солянка мясная

Сообщение #3290

А я довольствуюсь либо наиболее малосолеными сортами хюттеоста, либо уж покупаю нормальный творог (вакууусный!!) в русском магазине. В польском, говорят, тоже неплохой. Ну уж по крайней мере ничего не варю и не сцеживаю.

Я когда в центре бываю, тоже это все покупаю.А поскольку живу в пригороде, проще делать так как привыкла. Хюттеост я люблю, моя семья нет.Приходится подстраиваться под них 🙄

ЦИТАТА ОТВЕТ

Сообщение #3291

Хюттеост я люблю, моя семья нет.Приходится подстраиваться под них 🙄

У меня муж тоже и знать не хочет всех этих творожных штучек. Но если я буду под него во всем подстраиваться, то буду либо вечно пребывать в состоянии "пищевой неудовлетворенности", либо очень быстро приобрету проблемы с желудком.

У меня вскоре после переезда в Данию родилась шутка: "В нашей семье государственная граница проходит в холодильнике". 😊 Так ничего особо и не изменилось с тех пор, разве что я сама смирилась и перестала переживать по этому поводу.

### Appendix III.5

**RUSFORUM:**

**DISCUSSION TOPIC "WERE CAN I BUY TVOROG IN COPENHAGEN?, THOSE WHO KNOW, PLEASE ANSWER"**

< [HTTP://RUSFORUM.DK/INDEX.PHP?SHOWTOPIC=21170&HL](http://rusforum.dk/index.php?showtopic=21170&hl) >

**OPENED: OCTOBER, 2010**

**ACCESSED: [OCTOBER 2010]**

**TOPIC IS ACTIVE**

Где можно в Копенгагене купить творог?, Кто знает, откликнитесь пожалуйста

Опции ▾

Сообщение #1

Так как я в положении, стало тянуть на разные странности в еде) Очень хочется творога. Буду благодарна если кто - то поделится знаниями о месте где можно его купить.

Спасибо сказали:  
[Нагайна](#),

В любом русском/польском магазине можно купить или сделать самой в домашних условиях.

Лапа, форум лежит в конвульсиях, ты даже не представляешь, каких.

Творогу посвящено несчётное кол-во тем. Более того, темы, не посвящённые творогу, сводятся к нему всё равно.

Попробуй поиск на это слово.

пс: прими поздравления по случаю "положения" 😊

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Если надо объяснять, то не надо объяснять.

Спасибо сказали:  
[Нарайна](#), [Lapa](#), [Lusha](#).

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+

ЦИТАТА

1

ОТВЕТ

1

Сообщение #5

В польском магазине.

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Полный Эйяфьятлайокудль, однако.

Сообщение #4

А что, желание поесть творога уже причисляется к "странностям в еде"?  
С положением поздравляю, однако.  
О том, где купить творог, уже ответили выше.

Спасибо сказали:  
[Lara](#)

ЦИТАТА ОТВЕТ

Сообщение #5

но ни в коем случае не пользуйтесь на руссфоруме поиском на слово "творог"!!!  
в вашем положении ВСЕ это читать нельзя!  
а если серьезно, то есть творог вам нужно обязательно!!!  
хорошего вам самочувствия!

(беременность - такое счастливое время!.....)

Довели ёжика в тумане.....

Спасибо сказали:  
[Lara](#)

НАВЕРХ ЦИТАТА ОТВЕТ

Oct 18 2010, 09:56 PM

Сообщение #16

Кappelvaenget 4, 8210 Aarhus

Оно?

Оно 😊  
Это такой киоск и в нём отдел с "нашей" тематикой.  
Давно я там не была, но могу на этой неделе наведаться. Тебе чаво-нить прихватить?

Если надо объяснять, то не надо объяснять.

ЦИТАТА ОТВЕТ

Сообщение #17

Зэээ, вот такой вопрос, где в Дании на Юлланде на севере **гречку** купить? Говорят она в России ох как подорожала.  
Ребенок полюбил кашу, а запасы заканчиваются.

Зеленую тоже едим, иногда. Да она много где продается.

Покупаю в Квикли, Супер Брусен - в экологических отделах смотрите. Если зеленую ест - очень хорошо. В жареной при обработке теряется полезность.  
Также есть во всяких физических и нетмагазинах здорового питания и т.п., н-д

Oct 9 2010, 08:23 PM Сообщение #6

Очень вкусный творог в польском магазине на Aboulevard!  
Можно просто кварк в Fotex. Если по-русски, то это обезжиренная творожная масса 😊. С изюмом, сметаной хорошо. Но я чаще для выпечки беру.  
Иногда еще покупаю рикотту в Лянбю в торг центре. Смотри, чего хочется. Вариантов много 😊

Сообщение отредактировал Taohua - Oct 9 2010, 08:28 PM

Спасибо сказали: 4

Oct 9 2010, 10:22 PM Сообщение #7

Застрелите меня поскорее))))))))))

Спасибо сказали: 4

Спасибо сказали: 167 раз(a)

Oct 19 2010, 06:58 AM Сообщение #17

Цитата: [Redacted]

Эээ, вот такой вопрос, где в Дании на Юлланде на севере **гречку** купить? Говорят она в России ох как подорожала.  
Ребенок полюбил кашу, а запасы заканчиваются.  
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Также есть во всяких физических и нетмагазинах здорового питания и т.п., н-р

Oct 19 2010, 08:04 AM Сообщение #18

Цитата: [Redacted]

форум лежит в конвульсиях, ты даже не представляешь, каких.  
Творогу посвящено несчётное кол-во тем. Более того, темы, не посвящённые творогу, сводятся к нему всё равно.

я уже давно предлагаю вынести темы про творог, гречку и тп. наверх, в постоянные 😊))))



Все люди, как люди, а я - Королева!

\*\*\*\*\*  
Пышный бюст иметь хотите, чтобы грудь была краса? Сиськи в улей опустите и держите полчаса!!!!

## Appendix III.6

RUSFORUM:

DISCUSSION TOPIC “THE RUSSIAN SHOPS IN DENMARK, ADDRESSES”

< HTTP://RUSFORUM.DK/INDEX.PHP?SHOWTOPIC=11495&ST=0>

OPENED: OCTOBER, 2008

ACCESSED: [OCTOBER 2008]

TOPIC IS ACTIVE

Дании, адреса

Oct 5 2008, 06:42 PM

Сообщение #1

предлагаю собрать в одном месте адреса всех русских магазинов в Дании. Пишите город, адрес и название магазина.

ЦИТАТА ОТВЕТ

Сообщение #2

Там есть и то и другое, гречка - хорошая, сгущёнку ещё не пробовали.

только селедку не покупайте там... был неудачный опыт.

Мне нравится польский магазин на Обувьварден, там и огурцы солёные, и творог и тп. Плюс сербско-югославский магазин на Ягтвай! Очень хорошее слоёное тесто!

НАВЕРХ

ЦИТАТА ОТВЕТ

Сообщение #3

Oct 2 2009, 06:02 PM

расскажите, пожалуйста, адрес сербско-югославского магазина!

тобы увидеть радугу, нужно переждать дождь.

## Appendix III.7

**RUSFORUM:**

**DISCUSSION TOPIC “RUSSIAN LANGUAGE FOR CHILDREN, SCHOOLS, PLAY, CLUBS, GROUPS, ETC.”**

< [HTTP://RUSFORUM.DK/INDEX.PHP?SHOWTOPIC=14802](http://RUSFORUM.DK/INDEX.PHP?SHOWTOPIC=14802) >

**OPENED: FEBRUARY, 2009**

**ACCESSED: [FEBRUARY, 2009]**

TOPIC IS ACTIVE

**Русский язык для детей, Школы, игровые, клубы, тусовки т.д.**

Feb 22 2009, 12:51 PM

Сообщение

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предлагаю в этой теме собрать информацию о том, где наши детки могут общаться по-русски. Это могут быть школы, игровые, клубы, тусовки и другие мероприятия. Те, кто ходит на занятия, поделитесь впечатлениями пожалуйста. Возможно, кто-то решит организовать русскоязычный пикник с детьми или культпоход и здесь можно дать объявление о месте сбора.

Вот список того, о чем слышала и читала

- 1.Det Russiske Hus  
<http://www.russiskhus.dk/>  
 Legestue (1½ - 6 år)  
 Musikteater (6-15 år)  
 Skuespillerens verden (6-15 år)  
 Kreativ dans (3 - 6 år)  
 Billedkunst (2-15 år)  
 Russisk sprog( 5 – 15 år)  
 Aktiviteterne finder sted hver lørdag i lokaler på Sankt Annæ Gymnasium, 2 etage B, Sjælør Boulevard 135 i Valby i tidsrummet 9.30 -15.40
- 2.Dansk Russisk Hus i Jylland  
<http://www.dansk-russisk-hus.dk/>  
 om lørdagen fra 10 til 13 i Vejlbyskole, adressen: Vikærvej 36, 8240 Risskov
3. Детский клуб «Рыжий КОТ»  
<http://www.roedekat.dk/>  
 Carit Etlars vej 8, kld, 1814 Frederiksberg C  
 Вторник-Пятница, Воскресенье

## Сообщение #9

Якщо людина не сміється, вона мабуть хвора або падлюка (Николай Васильевич Гоголь)

[+ ЦИТАТА](#) [” ОТВЕТ](#)

Сообщение #10

“

2. Наверняка есть местечко, где нам будет жить лучше, но пока - то мы здесь. Немецкая пословица

## Сообщение #11

Якщо людина не сміється, вона мабуть хвора або падлюка (Николай Васильевич Гоголь)

+ ЦИТАТА
” ОТВЕТ

Сообщение #12

669

3.



П  
Г  
С  
Р  
О  
С  
С  
В

□ Mar 2 2009, 10:37 PM

Сообщение #13

Цит

Lenew Если Вы про Ольборгскую - то у нас 3 группы, мелкие 2-4, и старшие..

Нет, спасибо, Надя. Я про Орхус - у меня там много подружек, некоторые уже и отчаялись найти школу.

-----  
1.В человеческом невежестве весьма утешительно считать всё то за вздор, чего не знаешь.© Фонвизин Д.И.  
2.Наверняка есть местечко, где нам будет житья лучше, но пока - то мы здесь. Немецкая пословица

### Appendix III.8

**RUSFORUM:**

**DISCUSSION TOPIC “THE RUSSIAN SHOP IN COPENHAGEN, WHERE CAN ONE BUY, RUSSIAN FOOD PRODUCTS?”**

< [HTTP://RUSFORUM.DK/INDEX.PHP?SHOWTOPIC=20555&HL](http://RUSFORUM.DK/INDEX.PHP?SHOWTOPIC=20555&HL) >

**OPENED: AUGUST, 2010**

ACCESSED: [AUGUST, 2010]

TOPIC IS ACTIVE

**Российский магазин в Копенгагене, где можно купить русские продукты?**

---

Aug 4 2010, 08:08 AM Сообщение #1

Привет всем! Недавно переехал в Копенгаген и возник вопрос, где можно купить русские продукты (гречка, сгущенка и т.п.) и по приличным ценам. Может кто знает, поделитесь пожалуйста? =)

Заранее благодарен!

---

Aug 4 2010, 12:59 PM Сообщение #1

Polske forretninger i København

# Den polske Købmand / Polski sklep Wisla, Sankt Annægade 33, Christianshavn, 1416 København K.  
Telefon 32 54 50 62. Hjemmeside: [www.wisla.dk](http://www.wisla.dk)

# Polonus Copenhagen, Polsk Sklep, Åboulevarden 32, 2200 København N. Telefon 35 36 33 30 /  
35 36 35 34. Hjemmeside: <http://www.nelso.dk/place/137206/>

И не забывайте - Гугл знает все! 😊

---

Aug 4 2010, 02:40 PM Сообщение #1

[REDACTED]

Пытался искать, да толи поиск не работает, толи ищу неверно, а тем то много чтоб всё в ручную пересмотреть, до 10стр смотрел

Набираете в поиске "русский магазин" (в кавычках!) и видите кучу тем, где вдоль и поперёк обо всех русско-польско-всяко-разных магазинах в Дании и Германии. О ценах, качестве и ассортименте.

Удачи.

## Appendix III.9

RUSFORUM:

DISCUSSION TOPIC “NATIONAL DISH FOR THE KINDERGARTEN”

< HTTP://RUSFORUM.DK/INDEX.PHP?SHOWTOPIC=14777&HL>

OPENED: AUGUST, 2010

ACCESSED: [AUGUST, 2010]

TOPIC IS ACTIVE

Национальное блюдо для дет сада

Опции ▾

ber

Feb 19 2009, 02:39 PM

Сообщение #1

Меня попросили приготовить русский обед для деток старшей группы детского сада, куда ходит моя дочка. Готовить буду вместе с детками в саду. Теперь мучаюсь вопросом, чего бы такого особого приготовить, что бы и датским деткам понравилось, и чтобы не очень долго готовить. Мой ребенок просит борщ и сырники. Я немного скептически смотрю на борщ: понравится ли он другим детям?

А что бы Вы посоветовали?

Количество деток: 20, возраст 4-5 лет.

Спасибо сказали: 8 раз(a)

НАВЕРХ

ЦИТАТА

ОТВЕТ

Feb 19 2009, 03:28 PM

Сообщение #5

Может оладьи вместо блинчиков? Блины и датские мамы готовят. И потом, блинчики - это скорее всего десерт, не главное блюдо. А что же на горячее придумать? Как думаете плов пойдет?

сырники не у всех идут. Опыт детсада и школы: блины/блинчики в разных вариациях (хит), картофельные котлетки со сметанкой, простые котлетки. Это же детки, они неизвестное есть боятся.

Согласна по поводу сырников. А картофельные котлетки Вы имеете ввиду draniki?

ЦИТАТА

ОТВЕТ

Feb 19 2009, 03:29 PM

Сообщение #7

Может оладьи вместо блинчиков? Блины и датские мамы готовят. И потом, блинчики - это скорее всего десерт, не главное блюдо. А что же на горячее придумать? Как думаете плов пойдет?

Оладьи может даже и лучше. А вот плов, скорее узбекское блюдо.

Feb 19 2009, 03:50 PM

Сообщение #9

Цитата

Оладьи может даже и лучше. А вот плов, скорее узбекское блюдо.

Да, про плов я в курсе, недаром он и называется Узбекским. Да деткам, как впрочем и педагогам все равно. Наверное, послушаю Ваших опытных советов и напеку блинчиков с разными начинками. В оладьи начинку не завернуть, хотя кушать детям удобнее.

ЦИТАТА ОТВЕТ

Feb 19 2009, 03:51 PM

Сообщение #10

Цитата

в этом вся и фишка. если сделаете совсем незнакомое блюдо, то не будет успеха, а главное у детей запомнится, что русская кухня - это что-то странное и невкусное. То есть идея в том, чтобы сделать блюдо которое все дети любят, но подать его так чтобы смотрелось национально.

+ 1. Совершенно согласна. Картоф. котлетки - из нормального пюре+мука+яйцо - лепишь котлтки и на сковородку. Прекрасно пойдут на горячее вместе с нормальными фрикадельками (это как раз и то, что мы в россии едим, и то, что дети знают и любят). К ним морковочку начистить, сметанку на стол, огурчики. А свекла здесь вообще считается не то, чтобы экзотикой, но не все дети ее едят. Главное, не мудрить - дети не запомнят так уж надолго, что ели, останется (и то не у всех) общее впечатление. А на сладкое - блинчики с разными добавками

Сообщение отредактировал lenew - Feb 19 2009, 03:51 PM

1. В человеческом невежестве весьма утешительно считать всё то за вздор, чего не знаешь. © Фонвизин Д.И.

2. Наверняка есть местечко, где нам будет жить лучше, но пока - то мы здесь. Немецкая пословица

ЦИТАТА

Mar 18 2009, 10:56 AM

Сообщение #46

Цитата

я вот вспомнила, мое первое блюдо и последнее на долгий срок 😊 было обжаренный фарш в картошке-пюре и обжарить, типа котлеток. ели мы его, кажись, со сметаной

дети очень любят пюре с мясом. Но национальное ли это блюдо?

Все люди, как люди, а я - Королева!

\*\*\*\*\*

Пышный бюст иметь хотите, чтобы грудь была краса? Сиськи в улей опустите и держите полчаса!!!!

ЦИТАТА ОТВЕТ

Mar 18 2009, 11:02 AM

Сообщение #47

Цитата

вы на работе отгул берете или как на это время?

я не совсем понимаю идею происходящего, во первых зачем и во вторых когда?

да, это точно. У нас в садике устраивали просто праздник, все приходили семьями и каждый нес своё национальное блюдо. Всё это начиналось часика в 4-5. Все успевали после работы.

Ну и блюд, конечно, море было. Я тогда объелась 😊 . И африканской, и иранской, иракской, афганской кухни. Ещё вроде со шри-ланки были. Вообще, чего там только не было!

ЦИТАТА

## Appendix III.10

### “SMAGEN AF ØSTEUROPA”

<HTTP://WWW.AALBORG.DK/DANSK/SHOPPING/DEFAULT.ASPX?CTRL=1689&DATA=141%2C2212242%2C3194&COUNT=1>

POSTED: JANUARY, 2007

ACCESSED: [OCTOBER, 2008]

Net- og mobilforretninger	<h2>Smagen af Østeuropa</h2>  <p>Fatima Rafiyeva missed Russian food, and since she couldn't find work as an organist in Aalborg, she decided to open her own store with Eastern European specialties. foto: Torben Hansen</p> <p>Meile Sposmanyte smiler henrykt, da hun viser sit indkøb af saltede agurker frem.</p> <p>- Det smager som hjemme. Min mor lavede også den type agurker uden eddike, siger hun henført. Hendes barnefødder gik i Letland, og derfor er den russiske specialitet et glædeligt gensyn, der kan få hende til at rejse langt i tankerne.</p> <p>- Vi var jo besat af russerne i 50 år, så vi delte i høj grad også madkultur, forklarer Meile Sposmanyte. Hun lægger også en pose mannagryn i tasken, så hun kan lave grød til sin datter på syv måneder. Det giver hende en særlig oplevelse at give hendes barn det samme som hun selv fik som barn.</p> <p>Bag disken stråler Fatima Rafiyeva. Hun åbnede butikken Sadko med østeuropæiske specialiteter 27. december. Da hendes kunde starter på at tale russisk, slår hun også over, og de to småsnakker lystigt om gamle russiske film, der får nostalgien og tankerne om deres barndom til at blomstre. Det lå ellers ikke i kortene, at Fatima Rafiyeva skulle have butik.</p>
Support	
Salg af redaktionelt stof	
Ferieflytning	
Bestilling af abonnement	
E-Avis	
Reklamation	
Bliv bud	
Ophavsret	
RSS	
FAQ	
Nyhedsbrev	

#### Relaterede billeder



10. januar 2007 04:00  
Britt Kristensen

Visninger: 4  
Kommentarer: 0  
Brugeranbefaling:  
Antal billeder: 3

#### Avisannonce



Fatima Rafiyeva på 31 år har erfaring fra den østeuropæiske madkultur gennem sit eget liv. Hun er datter af en iransk far og en mor der er halv russer og halv usbeker. Hun er født i Turkmenien nord for Iran og Afghanistan, men flyttede senere til Estland. Her mødte hun en dansk familie, der fortalte at der var mangel på organister i Danmark. Det fik hende til at rejse hertil i 1999 med håb om at kunne bruge sin uddannelse som musiker.

Det har dog været svært at finde arbejde nok i Aalborg som kirkeorganist. I sommer var hun på ferie hos familie i Estland, og her kunne hun mærke, hvor meget hun havde savnet den russiske mad. Så kom ideen til at åbne egen butik i Aalborg med østeuropæisk mad.

- Jeg har ikke tid til at vente på et job. Jeg bliver nødt til at tænke på min karriere, forklarer Fatima energisk. Hendes mørkebrune øjne lyser af energi.

- Livet skal leves, og man skal også tjene penge, når man er alene med et barn.

Da hun kom hjem til Aalborg, fik ideen krop. Hendes 12-årige datter var dog ikke meget for ideen.

- Hun var ikke glad for det til at starte med. Hun var nok lidt genert over vores russiske baggrund, siger Fatima, mens hun viser frem mellem georgiske vine og ukendt slik. Men nu har datteren vænnet sig til det, og hendes klasse har været på besøg for at høre om den østeuropæiske mad.

### Uventet hjælp

Op til åbningen af butikken så det hele meget uoverskueligt ud, selvom hun havde fået god hjælp af venner. Da Liselotte Hayes, mor til en af hendes datters venner, spurgte til hvordan det gik, græd Fatima Rafiyeva, for hun kunne ikke se, hvordan hun skulle nå at blive færdig til åbningsdagen.

- Så sagde Liselotte, som jeg ikke kendte særlig godt, at vi skal nok nå gøre det færdig. Så dukkede hun op efter en julefrokost og hjalp mig til klokken 03 om natten. Jeg glemmer aldrig, hvor meget hun hjalp mig, siger den kønne kvinde bevæget.

Med springet til at åbne butik lever hun i høj grad efter det russiske ordsprog: "Tager man ikke chancer, drikker man ikke champagne". Det tidligere solcenter er nu bygget om. To trapper leder op til rummene med varer, og der er også plads til caféborde i de lyse rummelige lokaler.

- Jeg har været så nervøs for, om det nu skulle gå. Nu er jeg ikke så stresset længere, men meget glad. Jeg håber på at komme til at møde mange mennesker her og måske danne en russisk forening med tiden.

Hun serverer russisk te og kaffe, chokolade og snacks - blandt andre til de russiske kvinder, der allerede har fundet ud af at mødes der. Flere af dem er gift med danske mænd, og det kan være rart at møde andre at tale russisk med.

På hylterne er der sjove ting at eksperimentere med for den danske gane. Hvad med en snack af ristet brød med smag af sort kaviar eller laks? Flotte saltede tomater på glas, henkogte svampe eller pate? Fatima Rafiyeva tror, at danskerne vil komme ind i butikken og prøve sig frem.

- Det er ikke så mange år siden, at danskerne ikke kendte fetaost og paella, men efterhånden som de tog på ferie til Grækenland og Spanien, så tog de madvanerne med sig hjem. Danskerne tager nu også på ferie i Østeuropa og får øjnene op for georgisk vin og borsch, siger hun.

En midaldrende dansk kvinde er på jagt efter champagne fra Ukraine på hylterne, og hun bliver glad, da hun finder en flaske. Hun har selv været i Ukraine, og har lyst til atter at smage på landet.

Det har været en hård begyndelse, men nu føler Fatima Rafiyeva, at der er ved at falde ro på. For hende handler det om at elske, det hun laver, og ikke kun tjene penge.

- Det er så skønt når folk siger tak til mig, når de finder noget mad, de ikke har smagt i lang tid.

[Tip en ven](#) [Print artikel](#)

I hvilket omfang vil du anbefale denne artikel til andre brugere:

## Appendix III.11

RUSFORUM:

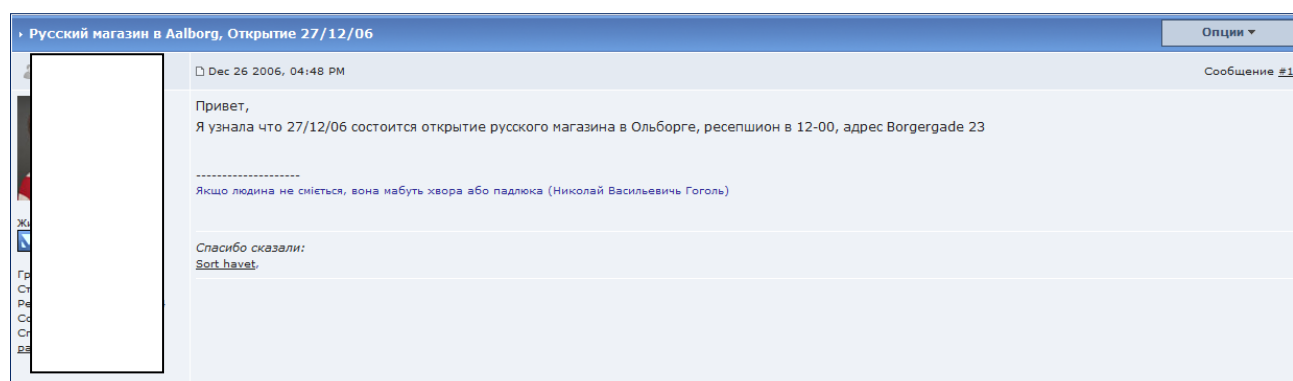
DISCUSSION TOPIC "THE RUSSIAN SHOP IN AALBORG, THE OPENING 27/12/06"

< [HTTP://RUSFORUM.DK/INDEX.PHP?SHOWTOPIC=6046&HL](http://rusforum.dk/index.php?showtopic=6046&hl)>

OPENED: DECEMBER, 2006

CLOSED: MARCH, 2007

ACCESSED: [JUNE, 2007]





## Appendix III.12

**RUSFORUM:**

**DISCUSSION TOPIC “WHO KNOWS DANISH TRADITIONS CONCERNING VISITING RELATIVES AT THE HOSPITAL?, I HAVE EXPERIENCED SOME TENSION IN RELATION TO THIS TOPIC.”**

< [HTTP://RUSFORUM.DK/INDEX.PHP?SHOWTOPIC=20369&ST=0&#ENTRY299954](http://rusforum.dk/index.php?showtopic=20369&st=0&#entry299954)>

**OPENED: JULY, 2010**

**ACCESSED: [JULY, 2010]**

**TOPIC IS ACTIVE**

**ни в посещении родственников в больнице?, У меня возникла такая напряженность связанная с этой темой.**

Опции ▾

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Jul 13 2010, 12:58 PM Сообщение #1

Дочь мужа 30ть лет положили в больницу на косметическую процедуру лечебные ванны для кожи. Мы виделись с ней 2 дня до этого. Муж вчера устроил истерику что надо к ней ехать завтра, хотя дочь в разговоре с ним ясно сказала, что не хочет чтобы он приезжал, поскольку не чувствует себя больной. Папаша бьется в истерике что он все равно поедет, что все всегда так говорят, а на самом деле они хотят чтобы к ним приехали.

Я не понимаю, в России если ты не хочешь чтобы тебе видели больной и слабой, ты имеешь на это право. И ни кто даже мои родители не могут настаивать на этом. Другое дело когда человек в реанимации или идет на операцию. Там ты приезжаешь в больницу кормить, сидеть и наблюдать за больным, иногда дежурить.

И еще я не могу понять когда ты 2 часа назад корчилась в родах, вся синезеленофиолетовая, а к тебе прибегает толпа родственников с разговорами и поздравлениями. А оно тебе нужно в тот момент??? Ты хочешь полежать отдохнуть. А--н-нет... как это ты не хочешь чтобы тебе семья поздравила??? Да, хочу... Но почему это надо делать в первый день после родов???

Чувствуешь себя просто вещью, твои чувства и российская стыдливость никого не беспокоят здесь.

+ ЦИТАТА    + ОТВЕТ

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Jul 13 2010, 02:15 PM Сообщение #8

Ф [ ] - ну и?

QUOTE

А в моей России считалось неприличным прийти в дом к новорожденному, когда ему ещё месяца не было, чтобы не нанести микробов. Я уже не говорю о том, что в роддом прийти в тот же день- даже мысли такой не было (не считая близкой семьи)...

Что ты хотела этим сказать? Особенно про неприличие.. Ты еще вспомни что до 6 что ли мес его можно слгзнуть якобы и не показывают младенцев.... Да и сомневаюсь я что в "твоей россии" в роддом тебя бы пустили - в окошко поорать и все...

Ниче с младенцем не случится.. Это тока у нас в СНГ перекос на ватно-марлевых повязках.. Хотя и там уже с нестерильными (о ужас) нужьями рожать начали, так что и туда прогресс скоро докатится.

04

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 Якщо людина не сіється, вона набуть хвора або падлюка (Николай Васильевич Гоголь)

+ ЦИТАТА    + ОТВЕТ

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Jul 13 2010, 02:26 PM Сообщение #9

И про слаз вспомню тоже, спасибо Надя, что подсказала. Такие вещи остаются реальными, верим мы в них или нет. Что хотела этим сказать? По-моему очень очевидную вещь: что ходить толпами СРАЗУ же после рождения- по меньшей мере неприлично и нетактично, а по большей - ...не буду продолжать...

Мы были на 4й день после рождения в больнице (тогда ещё действовал старый закон, когда лежали до 5ти дней), так я считала, что это оочень быстро, но роженица сама была не против и очень хотели, чтобы мы к ним пришли, а это уже совсем другое дело...

ПС: про поорать в тряпках не (особо) в курсе, помню мне рассказывали про такое, во времена когда я только родилась, сейчас не знаю.

Icon

Сообщение отредактировал Ferrari Modena - Jul 13 2010, 02:28 PM

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07

.....  
 It is not the strongest of the species that survives, nor the most intelligent that survives. It is the one that is the most adaptable to change.  
 Charles Darwin  
 нию & DK

### Appendix III.13

**RUSFORUM:**

### DISCUSSION TOPIC “RUSSIAN WIVES OF THE DANES”

< [HTTP://RUSFORUM.DK/INDEX.PHP?SHOWTOPIC=18902&ST=20](http://RUSFORUM.DK/INDEX.PHP?SHOWTOPIC=18902&ST=20) >

**OPENED: FEBRUARY, 2010**

**ACCESSED: [JULY, 2010]**

TOPIC IS ACTIVE

ан

Опции ▾

Feb 18 2010, 01:07 PM

Сообщение #1

Дорогие русские, украинские, белорусские девушки и женщины, вышедшие замуж за датчан!!!! Собираюсь замуж за датчанина, поделитесь пожалуйста опытом и впечатлениями!!!! Заранее благодарна!

Feb 18 2010, 01:09 PM

Сообщение #3

Пошел за попкорном ... 😊

Спасибо сказали:  
Bridka, полутчик, KPS,

Feb 18 2010, 01:10 PM

Сообщение #4

Дорогие русские, украинские, белорусские девушки и женщины, вышедшие замуж за датчан!!!! Собираюсь замуж за датчанина, поделитесь пожалуйста опытом и впечатлениями!!!! Заранее благодарна!

ой, щас начнется....

даЦкие жены (с) и Со 😊))))

Майошка,

лишь бы человек был хороший (с)

Feb 18 2010, 02:52 PM

Сообщение #40

Да неужели ребенку вашему так плохо в Дании? Я не думаю, что моей дочке будет хуже, чем в Украине...Я никому здесь не нужна со своими двумя дипломами ВУзов...Что я могу дать ребенку, какое будущее? Если уж совсем будет плохо, всегда можно вернуться... Я сейчас этим стараюсь не заморачиваться, настрой слишком позитивный!

а как нсчет школы. Если вы через год постройтеся на родину и любовь резко заявнет в неблагоприятном климате - что со школой. Классы тоже старшие. Может пусть поучится пока дома, пока вы решаете, насколько глубока ваша любовьффф.

## Appendix III.14

RUSFORUM:

DISCUSSION TOPIC “FROM CHILDHOOD, WHO REMEMBERS WHAT”

<HTTP://RUSFORUM.DK/INDEX.PHP?SHOWTOPIC=14855&HL=%D0%A1%E2%80%A6%D0%A1%E2%80%9A%D0%A0%D1%95>

OPENED: FEBRUARY, 2009

CLOSED: MARCH, 2009

ACCESSED: [FEBRUARY, 2009]

МНИТ

Опции ▼

Feb 27 2009, 06:39 PM

Сообщение #1

Тут в соседней теме Луиза заговорила про мороженное. И начали все вспоминать, что в детстве ели.Присоединяйтесь.

---

Feb 27 2009, 06:50 PM

Сообщение #3

Ц [redacted]

бабушкин торт Наполеон, рагу овощное, икру из баклажанов, эклеры, березовый сок 😊

Точно, соки были в трехлитровых банках.

ЦИТАТА    ОТВЕТ

---

Feb 27 2009, 07:03 PM

Сообщение #4

Ц [redacted]

Точно, соки были в трехлитровых банках.

Томатный тоже. 😊Еще молочный коктейль за 11 копеек! 😊

-----


Если тебе роют яму, не мешай, закончат-сделаешь себе бассейн!

[illegible]


Feb 27 2009, 08:12 PM Сообщение #7

творожные глазированные сырки

сырок дружба



жёвка клубничная



Feb 27 2009, 08:44 PM Сообщение #8

Пирожное "картошка". Кстати, увидела сегодня, оказывается в Дании оно тоже продается, так и называется "картофлекеа". Кто пробовал? Сок из шиповника "Лисенок". А доча нашла сегодня раритетный фантик от жуйки "Дональд Дак". Я так и не смогла ей объяснить что такое вкладыш (сейчас только с тату жевачки продаются) 😊. Джинсы "варенки", свекольного цвета ложины (а ведь оттуда все), челка с начесом под уклоном 45 градусов, битки, резинки.

Я пробовала "картошку" в Дании, мне не очень понравилось. Но оно и в Белорусии сейчас не такое как много лет назад (без поправок на то, что в детстве все вкуснее).

Что есть битки?

Из одежды особенно хорошо помню "капор" как-то так назывался головной убор, типа как здесь детки носят шапки-эlefантки. 😊 тока он был из ангорки, "волосы" и шея в тепле. 😊

Если у вас и седьмой блин комом-к чёрту блины-пеките комочки.

Feb 27 2009, 08:59 PM Сообщение #9

\_\_\_Зелёное и голубое мороженное за 6 копеек на Ден Моря, пирожки с мясом, мясной салат на праздники..

Never forget to take care of yourself, you are too important to let anything harm you

Feb 27 2009, 09:02 PM

Сообщение #10

Так вот он какой...сырок "Дружба" 😊 У нас математица в школе любила приговаривать,мол она не сырок "Дружба",чтобы всем нравится 😊  
 off про современных училок.. 😊  
<http://nordeurope.kp.ru/daily/24251/449949/>  
 Сообщение отредактировал Hopefull - Feb 27 2009, 09:18 PM

-----

Если у вас и седьмой блин комок-к чёрту блины-пеките комочки.

ЦИТАТА

ОТВЕТ

Feb 27 2009, 09:02 PM

Сообщение #11

Цитата [redacted] [X]

Что есть битки?

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здрассти, когда в классики прыгали, биток надо было ногой в следующий квадрат пихать 😊

-----

*If you are going through hell, keep going*

Feb 27 2009, 09:11 PM

Сообщение #13

Цитата [redacted] [X]

березовый сок 😊

-----

С мякотью? 😊

-----

Если надо объяснять, то не надо объяснять.

ЦИТАТА

ОТВЕТ

Feb 27 2009, 09:11 PM

Сообщение #13

Цитата(Л) [redacted] [X]

С мякотью? 😊

-----

у меня соковыжималка каждый раз ломается, когда свежавыжатый берёзовый сок делаю 😊

-----


  
 Все люди, как люди, а я - Королева!

\*\*\*\*\*

Пышный бюст иметь хотите, чтобы грудь была краса? Сиськи в улей опустите и держите полчаса!!!!

-----

Спасибо сказали:  
 Shanel.

здасьти, когда в классики прыгали, биток надо было ногой в следующий квадрат пихать 😊

Не помню,но я особо и не прыгала в классы .Мы в резинку скакали..


-----  
Если у вас и седьмой блин комок-к чёрту блины-пеките комочки.

Feb 27 2009, 09:16 PM Сообщение #15

Ц [redacted] “

Не помню,но я особо и не прыгала в классы .Мы в резинку скакали..

еще игра была такая "секретики". Под стёклышко закапывались всякие фантики и железяки, и загадывалось желание

 Все люди, как люди, а я - Королева!

\*\*\*\*\*  
Пышный бюст иметь хотите, чтобы грудь была краса? Сиськи в улей опустите и держите полчаса!!!!

Feb 27 2009, 09:19 PM Сообщение #16

[redacted] “

Не помню,но я особо и не прыгала в классы .Мы в резинку скакали..

в качестве битка использовали в основном банку гуталина 😊

[redacted] “

С мякотью? 😊

мдя, с древесной 😊

[redacted] “

еще игра была такая "секретики". Под стёклышко закапывались всякие фантики и железяки, и загадывалось желание

ой, в ножички еще играли, када рисовали круг на земле, делили его на кол-во человек, а потом бросали ножичек в землю и отрезали части чужой земли 😊

Сообщение отредактировал Arwen - Feb 27 2009, 09:31 PM

-----  
*If you are going through hell, keep going*

Feb 27 2009, 09:25 PM Сообщение #17

А у меня воспоминания о еде, так это пирожные корзиночки и молоко в литровых бутылках с крышкой-медалью, и еще авоськи, в которых продукты таскали



Feb 27 2009, 09:27 PM

Сообщение #18

Березовый сок и сок шиповника (повторяюсь 😊)... и гранатовый... в магазинах на развес 😊

Кефир в бутылках с зелеными крышечками, а потом их сдавать надо было... вы сдавали бутылки из-под молока, кефира?

а еще я помню детскую кухню - у мамы молока нет, ходили на детскую кухню за молоком, кефиром, соком для грудничков...

и вкладывали в жвачках... и сникерсы - я получила сникерс в подарок на новый год (давно это было 😊) - представляете сейчас сникерс в подарок получить????? 😊

ry 09

за(а)

Feb 27 2009, 09:37 PM

Сообщение #19

я) ☹

Березовый сок и сок шиповника (повторяюсь 😊)... и гранатовый... в магазинах на развес 😊

Кефир в бутылках с зелеными крышечками, а потом их сдавать надо было... вы сдавали бутылки из-под молока, кефира?

а еще я помню детскую кухню - у мамы молока нет, ходили на детскую кухню за молоком, кефиром, соком для грудничков...

и вкладывали в жвачках... и сникерсы - я получила сникерс в подарок на новый год (давно это было 😊) - представляете сейчас сникерс в подарок получить????? 😊

ry 08

вы шо будучи младенцем, уже ходили за молоком и кефиром? ☹ или я шото неправильно поняла

Из детства, кто что помнит

Опции

Feb 27 2009, 09:55 PM

Сообщение #21

Березовый сок и сок шиповника (повторяюсь 😊) ... и гранатовый... в магазинах на развес 😊  
 Кефир в бутылках с зелеными крышечками, а потом их сдавать надо было... вы сдавали бутылки из-под молока, кефира?

Еще как сдавала! Очень расстраивалась, когда горлышко отбитое попадалось у такой бутылки. Не принимали. 😞

-----  
 Если тебе рюют яму, не мешай, закончат-сделаешь себе бассейн!

August 08  
 ark  
 : 66 раз(a)

ЦИТАТА

ОТВЕТ

Feb 27 2009, 09:59 PM

Сообщение #22

Газированная вода в сифоне. И молоко в бумажных треугольных упаковках, но это точно давно было. Лет 28 назад

-----  
 Never forget to take care of yourself, you are too important to let anything harm you

April 08  
 89  
 erjylland  
 : 290

Feb 27 2009, 10:07 PM

Сообщение #23

Километровые очереди за колбасой(1 кг сосисок в руки),зел.горошек и шпроты-по блату 😊 "Фанта" привезена из экскурсионной поездки в Львов,пили по глоточку 😊

-----  
 Если у вас и седьмой блин коном-к чёрту блины-пеките комочки.

June 07  
 90  
 : 291

ЦИТАТА

ОТВЕТ

Feb 27 2009, 10:33 PM

Сообщение #24

Километровые очереди за колбасой(1 кг сосисок в руки),зел.горошек и шпроты-по блату 😊 "Фанта" привезена из экскурсионной поездки в Львов,пили по глоточку 😊

Ну это у меня в подростковом периоде было... Правда в ЛТ все эти бардаки позднее начались чем в России

-----  
 Never forget to take care of yourself, you are too important to let anything harm you

April 08  
 89  
 erjylland  
 : 290

Feb 27 2009, 11:51 PM

Сообщение #25

А я вспомнила брикетик какао . Он, брикетик был пресованный. Почему то шоколадки не покупали, а его покупали с сгрызали.

ЦИТАТА


ОТВЕТ

Feb 27 2009, 11:55 PM

Сообщение #26

А я вспомнила брикетик какао . Он, брикетик был пресованный. Почему то шоколадки не покупали, а его покупали с сгрызали.

еще гематоген ели



Все люди, как люди, а я - Королева!

\*\*\*\*\*

Пышный бюст иметь хотите, чтобы грудь была краса? Сиськи в улей опустите и держите полчаса!!!!

ЦИТАТА

ОТВЕТ

Feb 28 2009, 12:03 AM

Сообщение #27

еще гематоген ели

И все дружно вспомнили манную кашку детсадовскую. Пригоревшую и с нерастворенными комками манки. ☺

ЦИТАТА

ОТВЕТ

Feb 28 2009, 10:34 AM

Сообщение #28

А я вспомнила брикетик какао . Он, брикетик был пресованный. Почему то шоколадки не покупали, а его покупали с сгрызали.

Точно, кубик такой. Копеек 40 стоил. Это когда шоколада уже не было в магазинах, а эти кубики еще были. Но потом и они исчезли. ☹

Всю тему не смотрела, кто-то уже писал про автоматы с газировкой? 3 копейки - с сиропом, 1 копейка - без сиропа. И стеклянные стаканы к ним.. ☹

-----

Если надо объяснять, то не надо объяснять.

ЦИТАТА

ОТВЕТ

Feb 28 2009, 11:05 AM

Сообщение #29

вы шо будучи младенцем, уже ходили за молоком и кефиром? 😊 или я шото неправильно поняла

сестренка младшенькая 😊 9 лет разница, для нее ходила

ЦИТАТА ОТВЕТ

Feb 28 2009, 11:24 AM

Сообщение #30

Всю тему не смотрела, кто-то уже писал про автоматы с газировкой? 3 копейки - с сиропом, 1 копейка - без сиропа. И стеклянные стаканы к ним.. 😊

Неа, про автоматы не было, было про сифоны, которые кое-где остались до сих пор.

У меня вопрос-как вы все помните цены на то-се? 😊 Это потому, что цены в союзе не менялись годами? Я все помню-и кефир с зелеными медальками, и сметану с стеклянными банками на развес, и Тархун и т.д., а сколько, что стоило стреляй, не скажу.

П.С Раньше такая передача была по ТВ, что-то вроде сколько стоила гречка в 1973 году. Правда, там варианты предлагались 😊

Сообщение отредактировал Hopefull - Feb 28 2009, 11:27 AM

Если у вас и седьмой блин комок-к чёрту блины-пеките комочки.

Feb 28 2009, 11:41 AM

Сообщение #31

Неа, про автоматы не было, было про сифоны, которые кое-где остались до сих пор.

У меня вопрос-как вы все помните цены на то-се? 😊 Это потому, что цены в союзе не менялись годами? Я все помню-и кефир с зелеными медальками, и сметану с стеклянными банками на развес, и Тархун и т.д., а сколько, что стоило стреляй, не скажу.

П.С Раньше такая передача была по ТВ, что-то вроде сколько стоила гречка в 1973 году. Правда, там варианты предлагались 😊

Помнится, естественно, не всё, а то, что или примелькалось (мороженое) или очень хотелось (кубики какао). Ито не думаю, что цену кубиков помню точно. Хлеб - 20 коп. Это все помнят.

Как-то в Донецке была акция - желающие могли купить пиво по цене советского времени (какие-то копейки), НО...за советские деньги 😊 . А дело было в 90-е, советских денег уже почти не осталось. Муж родственники помчался домой, искать какую-то "заначку".. 😊

Если надо объяснять, то не надо объяснять.

ЦИТАТА ОТВЕТ

Feb 28 2009, 12:49 PM

Сообщение #32

Помнится, естественно, не всё, а то, что или примелькалось (мороженое) или очень хотелось (кубики какао). Ито не думаю, что цену кубиков помню точно. Хлеб - 20 коп. Это все помнят. Как-то в Донецке была акция - желающие могли купить пиво по цене советского времени (какие-то копейки), НО...за советские деньги Б) . А дело было в 90-е, советских денег уже почти не осталось. Муж родственники помчался домой, искать какую-то "заначку".. 😊

Лина, кубик тот стоил 15 копеек не больше. Родители в школу на обед давали 15 или 20 копеек, и вместо пирожков с яблоком по пятаку, мы шли в магазин и покупали какао. А пирожные были по 22 коп.

Цитата (Arwen @ Feb 27 2009, 09:02 PM)

здрасьти, когда в классики прыгали, биток надо было ногой в следующий квадрат пихать 😊

А у нас это называлось хапа. Железную коробочку из под леденцов монпасе набивали песком для тяжести. А что б не открывалась, просила папу паяльником края сплавить 😊

Feb 28 2009, 01:33 PM

Сообщение #33

Хлеб - 20 коп. Это все помнят.

Батон - 20 коп, а черный хлеб-14 коп.  
Масло - 3.40  
Докторская колбаса-2.20  
Свинина-2 руб  
Кура - 2.40  
Сыр российский-3.50  
Квас в кружку- 5 коп  
Яблоки импортные Джонатан, кг- 1.20  
Лимоны грузинские, кг - 1.30

ЦИТАТА ОТВЕТ

Feb 28 2009, 01:52 PM

Сообщение #34

Лина, кубик тот стоил 15 копеек не больше. Родители в школу на обед давали 15 или 20 копеек, и вместо пирожков с яблоком по пятячку, мы шли в магазин и покупали какао.

Сейчас этого не понять 😊

Цитата

А пирожные были по 22 коп.

07 А бутерброд с икрой скока (в обкомовском буфете 🤔)?

-----

Если надо объяснять, то не надо объяснять.

Квас в кружку- 5 коп

Это большая кружка, а маленькая - 3 копейки.

ЦИТАТА ОТВЕТ

Feb 28 2009, 05:04 PM

Сообщение #35

Как-то в Донецке была акция - желающие могли купить пиво по цене советского времени (какие-то копейки), но...за советские деньги 😊. А дело было в 90-е, советских денег уже почти не осталось. Муж родственницы помчался домой, искать какую-то "заначку".. 😊

Какие там в Донецке хитрости! За обычное пиво раритеты запрашивать 😊! У нас сейчас деньги СССР (купюры и копейки) по хорошему курсу скупают. Но я свою заначку не продам 😊

Если о деньгах, то прекрасно помню первые белорусские деньги после развала союза, "зайчики". Сразу были купоны и купонные книжки, а потом появилось "зверье мое". 😊 Зайчиками называли, так как на купюре в 1 рубль был ушастый. На купюре 50 коп. была белочка. Также были бобры, волки, лоси, медведи, зубры. Короче, животный мир страны.

-----

Если у вас и седьмой блин коном-к чэрту блины-пеките комочки.

ЦИТАТА ОТВЕТ

Feb 28 2009, 05:09 PM

Сообщение #37

Если о деньгах, то прекрасно помню первые белорусские деньги после развала союза, "зайчики". Сразу были купоны и купонные книжки, а потом появилось "зверье мое". 😊 Зайчиками называли, так как на купюре в 1 рубль был ушастый. На купюре 50 коп. была белочка. Также были бобры, волки, лоси, медведи, зубры. Короче, животный мир страны.

А сейчас кто на белорусских купюрах? 😊

-----

Если надо объяснять, то не надо объяснять.

Регистрация: 30 October 07

Feb 28 2009, 05:43 PM

Сообщение #38

На 10 руб. старое изображение Национал.Библиотеки(еще не это гротесковое здание в виде алмаза,которое строили всей страной),на 20 рублях-Нацбанк,на 50-Брестская крепость,ну и так далее..Музеи,театры..все получше будет 😊

На 50 000( 😊 ) Мирский замок,на 100 000 рублей-не помню шо(в руках держала,не баись) 😊

-----

Если у вас и седьмой блин комом-к чёрту блины-пеките комочки.

ЦИТАТА

ОТВЕТ

Feb 28 2009, 05:54 PM

Сообщение #39

Брежневские времена...

газированная вода -1 копейка, с сиропом 4 копейки. 😊 двойной сиром 7 копеек.

Томатный сок- 10копеек, соль- БЕСПЛАТНО. 😊)))

Булочки по 3 копейки, а с маком 7 копеек, почему то: 😊)))

Фруктовое мороженое -7 копеек...

Хочу в прошлое... 😊

ЦИТАТА

ОТВЕТ

Feb 28 2009, 06:09 PM

Сообщение #40

Feb 28 2009, 05:54 PM

Брежневские времена...

Хочу в прошлое... 😊

Коньяк того же разлива 12р.50коп. 😊

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Если надо объяснять, то не надо объяснять.

ЦИТАТА

ОТВЕТ

Feb 28 2009, 08:55 PM

Сообщение #43

Цит

Feb 28 2009, 05:54 PM

Брежневские времена...

газированная вода -1 копейка, с сиропом 4 копейки. 😊 двойной сиром 7 копеек.

А мы знали, как по автомату легонько ударить, чтобы за 1 копейку с сиропом была! 😊 Экономили.

Тоже хочу в прошлое.... 😊

Сообщение отредактировал Louisa - Feb 28 2009, 08:57 PM

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Если тебе роют яму, не мешай, закончат-сделаешь себе бассейн!

ЦИТАТА

ОТВЕТ

А мы знали, как по автомату легонько ударить, чтобы за 1 копейку с сиропом была! 🐼 Экономили.  
Тоже хочу в прошлое.... 😊

А "двушку" на верёвочке для телефонавтомата тоже ты придумала? 😊

Если надо объяснять, то не надо объяснять.

Да, это ооочень давно 😂 (а ватрушки съела сама или помог кто?)

Я помню кукурузные хлопья (светлая память Н.С.Хрущеву 🍌). Потом их перестали производить. Вкус помню. Коробку помню, там два медвежонка были нарисованы, желтый и красный. Сейчас пробую разные сорта, ни один не похож, не ТОТ вкус.

А я банку сгущенки помню, но не ту как сейчас с синей этикеткой, а с лисенком на банке. Можт банку саму и не помню, но родители сохранили аппликации и там такая этикеточка была.

А "двушку" на верёвочке для телефонавтомата тоже ты придумала? 😊

Нее.. ну, до такого мы не доходили! 😊  
У нас просто шаблончик двухкопеечной монетки был из другого металла, но вес был такой же.  
Вот по шаблончикам и звонили! 😊

Сообщение отредактировал Louisa - Feb 28 2009, 09:41 PM

Если тебе роют яму, не мешай, закончат-сделаешь себе бассейн!

Автомат с газировкой - точно, такое не забыть - помню, как шли из школы без шапок по Кировскому проспекту (Каменноостровский нынче), в рейтузах (ненавидели их, но без них холодно - брюки - то нельзя, не форма!), у метро Горьковская покупали объясненно газировку с сиропом, стаканом пользовались по очереди, типа его мыли, потом покупали пирожки с мясом по 12 копеек, мясо выбрасывали в урну (искренне верили, что из котят приготовлено), потом заедали все это мороженым, я любила крен-брюле в вафельном стаканчике, а мои подруги - по плодово-ягодному по 7 коп. Желательные резинки советские - апельсиновая и мятная. Паштет - ну точно не датский левергастай. "Наборы" меха - Столы заказов с пустыми прилавками. Ряженка. Пирожное "полосочка" за 12 коп. как единственно съедобное в школьном буфете. Конфеты "старт". Массовые изображешца олимпийских мишек.

Очереди за книгами в обмен на макулатуру. У нас такой пункт был во дворе. В 7 утра часто просыпалась под крики типа 189 -Иванов, 190-Петров,,, и пр. В шкафах - Майн Рид ранжевый, В. Скотт розо вого цвета, Конан Дойль черного с красными буквами, Чернышевский со снами Веры Павловой в школе.

Пилунда, Пилунда, Пилунда. С родителями. Великолепный кофе по-турецки в кафе Абхазский Дворик. Пластиковые туфли там купленные- писк моды в 80-х.

Билетики на трамвай, метро, троллейбусы. "Счастливые" билетики сиделись. Стенды с газетами на остановках.

2. Наверняка есть местечко, где нам будет жить лучше, но пока - то мы здесь. Немецкая пословица



Feb 28 2009, 09:58 PM

Сообщение #48

Билетики на трамваи, метро, троллейбусы. "Счастливые" билетики съедались. Стенды с газетами на остановках.

Стенды с газетами на остановках тоже съедались? 😊

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Если тебе рюкзак яму, не мешай, закончат-сделаешь себе бассейн!

ЦИТАТА

ОТВЕТ

Feb 28 2009, 10:25 PM

Сообщение #49

Паштет - ну точно не датский леверпастай.

А ливерная колбаса, 🐷 помнишь как плевались? (хотя были и съедобные сорта 😊 )

Цитата

Стенды с газетами на остановках тоже съедались? 😊

😊

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Если надо объяснять, то не надо объяснять.

ЦИТАТА

ОТВЕТ

Feb 28 2009, 10:32 PM

Сообщение #50

Соль, горчица, перец, нарезанный черный хлеб в столовых на столах лежали бесплатно. Булочки в школах по 4 коп. Ситец по 70-80 коп. метр, штапель, поплин по 1рубель20-1рубель30 метр, шелк и другие не помню сколько, но не очень дорого. Детский билет в кино по 5 коп., коробок спичек по 1 коп., карамель по 1 руб. -1 руб 40 за кг., надувные шары по 3 коп., перья для чернильных ручек по 1 коп.

ЦИТАТА

ОТВЕТ

Feb 28 2009, 10:35 PM

Сообщение #51

А ливерная колбаса, 🐷 помнишь как плевались? (хотя были и съедобные сорта 😊 )

У нас до сих пор некоторые, даже совсем и не бедные люди, делают блинчики из ливерки, еще правда, что-то добавляют 😊

Цитата

"Счастливые" билетики съедались.

"Счастливые"-это какие? Там что-то складывать вроде надо было? Сумма первых 3 чисел должна быть равной последним 3?

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Если у вас и седьмой блин коном-к черту блины-пеките комочки.

ЦИТАТА

ОТВЕТ

Feb 28 2009, 10:42 PM

Сообщение #52

"Счастливые"-это какие?Там что-то складывать вроде надо было?Сумма первых 3 чисел должна быть равной последних 3?

Вот они, только это-простые, не счастливые.

Сообщение отредактировал Louisa - Feb 28 2009, 10:43 PM

Прикрепленные файлы

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08

Если тебе роют яму, не мешай, закончат-сделаешь себе бассейн!

a(a)

 ЦИТАТА  ОТВЕТ

Feb 28 2009, 10:43 PM

Сообщение #53

У нас до сих пор некоторые,даже совсем и не бедные люди,делают блинчики из ливерки,еще правда,что-то добавляют 😊 "Счастливые"-это какие?Там что-то складывать вроде надо было?Сумма первых 3 чисел должна быть равной последних 3?

А еще пока из магазина хлеб до дома донесешь, всю горбушку обкусаешь. Хрустящая корочка. Вкуууусно Родителям честно обещаешь больше так не делать, и это что было последний раз 😊

r 07

Feb 28 2009, 10:47 PM

Сообщение #54

А я сосиски молочные прямо из магазина сырыми есть очень любила, хоть и предупреждали, что они частично из крыс сделаны.

Если тебе роют яму, не мешай, закончат-сделаешь себе бассейн!

08

a(a)

 ЦИТАТА  ОТВЕТ

Feb 28 2009, 10:48 PM

Сообщение #55

А еще пока из магазина хлеб до дома донесешь, всю горбушку обкусаешь. Хрустящая корочка. Вкуууусно Родителям честно обещаешь больше так не делать, и это что было последний раз 😊

Ну так,за эту корочку всегда дома баталии были.Обрежешь с 2х сторон,потом он сохнет быстрее 😊 А если обкусаешь по дороге домой,можно было напелсти,что мыши в магазине..Типа кто-то верил детскому лепету 😊

Недавно пересматривала "В погоне за счастьем" ..Там был несколько моментов,когда гл.герой кубик-рубик собирал..У кого был?

Сообщение отредактировал Hopefull - Feb 28 2009, 10:52 PM

Если у вас и седьмой блин комок-к чёрту блины-пеките комочки.

Feb 28 2009, 10:58 PM

Сообщение #56

[Redacted]

Ну так, за эту корочку всегда дома баталии были. Обрежешь с 2х сторон, потом он сохнет быстрее 😊 А если обкусает по дороге доной, можно было напелсти, что мыши в магазине.. Типа кто-то верил детскому лепету 😊

Недавно пересматривала "В погоне за счастьем".. Там был несколько моментов, когда гл. герой кубик-рубик собирал.. У кого был?

Был такой у меня. половину сама догадалась собирать. А потом в журнале каком то нашла как и остальное собирается, и мгновенно интерес пропал

ЦИТАТА ОТВЕТ

Feb 28 2009, 11:00 PM

Сообщение #57

А кто колбаску шоколадную помнит из какао, миндальных орехов и еще чего-то?

Очень было распространено делать.

А зефир в шоколаде или просто белый зефир? Тут в магазине Москва купила белый зефир за 35 крон-пакетик. Вообще не то. 😊 Приторный, есть невозможно. А конфеты грильяж в шоколаде и Мишка на севере (их еще иногда называли Машка на юге).

-----  
Если тебе рюкзак яму, не мешай, закончат-сделаешь себе бассейн!

at 08

[Redacted]

Feb 28 2009, 11:05 PM

Сообщение #58

[Redacted]

А кто колбаску шоколадную помнит из какао, миндальных орехов и еще чего-то?

Очень было распространено делать.

А зефир в шоколаде или просто белый зефир? Тут в магазине Москва купила белый зефир за 35 крон-пакетик. Вообще не то. 😊 Приторный, есть невозможно. А конфеты грильяж в шоколаде и Мишка на севере (их еще иногда называли Машка на юге).

Посмотрела фильм Юлия Гусмана\* Парк советского периода\*. Там и про газировку по 3 копейки и про мороженое и пиво. Ну такая ностальгия по прошлому, или по детству.

А еще было масло шоколадное. 😊

at 07

ЦИТАТА ОТВЕТ

Feb 28 2009, 11:09 PM

Сообщение #59

[Redacted]

А кто колбаску шоколадную помнит из какао, миндальных орехов и еще чего-то?

Очень было распространено делать.

Первый десерт, который я сделала сама. На уроках труда, между шитьем передника и основами вышивки. Нужно обязательно печенье, покрошить его.

-----  
Если у вас и седьмой блин коном-к чёрту блины-пеките комочки.

Первый десерт,который я сделала сама.На уроках труда,между шитьем передника и основани вышивки.Нужно обязательно печенье,покрошить его.

Точно, еще печенье туда! А мы на уроке труда самое первое-ночную рубашку шили. Ужас! она у меня как для покойника получилась. Огромная, как мешок.

Ты что, это ж то, о чем я тут мечтаю. Рецепт у меня есть, но нужно печенье (то, из пачки ).

'Лина' рецептик, пожалуйста, в студию, а то я слюной подавлюсь.

Если тебе рюкз яму, не мешай, закончат-сделаешь себе бассейн!

ЦИТАТА

ОТВЕТ

Feb 28 2009, 11:23 PM

Сообщение #63

А мы из десертов еще делали "трюфеля" из детского питания "Малютка",какао,масла,сахара...Недавно я Арвен спросила об этом,они не делали..Точно,2 мира-2 детства.

Точно, еще печенье туда! А мы на уроке труда самое первое-ночную рубашку шили. Ужас! она у меня как для покойника получилась. Огромная, как мешок.

'Лина' рецептик, пожалуйста, в студию, а то я слюной подавлюсь.

Они все похожи <http://www.millionmenu.ru/rus/recipes/collection/drecip7504/> Но там действительно нужно ТО печенье,"шахматное",например.

Если у вас и седьмой блин комок-к чёрту блины-пеките комочки.

ЦИТАТА

ОТВЕТ

Feb 28 2009, 11:26 PM

Сообщение #64

А кто помнит капроновые колготки за 7 руб. 70 коп. и еще дешовые за 5 руб. и 3 руб. 50 коп.? И как мода пошла стрелки на них поднимать?

Сообщение отредактировал Louisa - Feb 28 2009, 11:26 PM

Если тебе рюкз яму, не мешай, закончат-сделаешь себе бассейн!

ЦИТАТА

ОТВЕТ

Feb 28 2009, 11:30 PM

Сообщение #65

А кто помнит капроновые колготки за 7 руб. 70 коп. и еще дешовые за 5 руб. и 3 руб. 50 коп.? И как мода пошла стрелки на них поднимать?

я помню, это была трагедия дня, если вдруг, не дай Бог, стрелка пошла на колготках, день можно было считать испорченным, ещё помню время когда эти стрелки зашивали, чтобы они дальше не пошли.... а тут смотрю, на некоторых девушках-это часть стиля-разодранные колготки, они идут как ни в чём ни бывало. Меня до сих пор подмывает тихо окликнуть такую и сказать тактично о её проблеме, может она не видит сама. Но потом всё же сдерживаю себя, тут жежь свобода выбора.

Сообщение отредактировал Ferrari Modena - Feb 28 2009, 11:31 PM

It is not the strongest of the species that survives, nor the most intelligent that survives. It is the one that is the most adaptable to change.

Charles Darwin

Feb 28 2009, 11:30 PM

Сообщение #66

Цитата

А мы из десертов еще делали "трюфеля" из детского питания "Малютка",какао,масла,сахара...

Самые вкусные в мире блины делал мой папа. Вместо молока использовал детскую молочную смесь.

Цитата

Они все похожи <http://www.millionmenu.ru/rus/recipes/collection/drecip7504/> Но там действительно нужно ТО печенье,"шахматное",например. 😊

В моём рецепте: печенье, масло, яйца, какао и сахар. Нет ни воды, ни молока. Орехов мы тоже не добавляли. (Ну откуда в Италии мята?)

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Если надо объяснять, то не надо объяснять.

+ ЦИТАТА    + ОТВЕТ

Feb 28 2009, 11:43 PM

Сообщение #67

а я как вспомню икорку, так аж слюньки наворачиваются... 🤤

Помню, её продавали в синих таких плоских банках:



Хотя её в своё время было так много, что в меня просто насильно её пихали, а я отплёвывалась (дудочка 😊)

Помню, всё время заставляла бабушку и дедушку рассказывать, каких цветов бывают икорки, и в конце насильно предлагала осознать, что они бывают всех цветов радуги. 😊

А ещё домой приносили паисную икорку, всегда по несколько кг и хранили в морозилке, чтоб всегда была, специально обработанную, которую можно было нарезать ножом. Я ещё играла с ней как с пластилином, лепила разные штучки. 😊

Потом у меня по вкусоности шла щуца:



Я её называла белой.

потом была лососевая-красная (которую до сих пор более или менее можно купить)

И ещё какая-то была серо-зелёного цвета, не помню название, но дедушка умел так вкусно её сделать, ещё лучок поверху, было просто ням-ням, действительно приятные вкусовые воспоминания из детства. 🤤

Feb 28 2009, 11:47 PMСообщение #68

я помню, это была трагедия дня, если вдруг, не дай Бог, стрелка пошла на колготках, день можно было считать испорченным, ещё помню время когда эти стрелки зашивали, чтобы они дальше не пошли.... 😊 а тут смотрю, на некоторых девушках-это часть стиля-разодранные колготки, они идут как ни в чём ни бывало. Меня до сих пор подмывает тихо окликнуть такую и сказать тактично о её проблеме, может она не видит сама. Но потом всё же сдерживаю себя, тут жеж свобода выбора. 😊

+100

У нас поэтому поводу даже поговорка была: Настоящая женщина-эта та, у которой под брюками не рваные колготки. 😊

Цитата(Ferrari Modena @ Feb 28 2009, 11:43 PM) ☞

Потом у меня по вкусоности шла щучья:

А для меня самой доступной была икра минтая 😊

Сообщение отредактировал Louisa - Feb 28 2009, 11:47 PM

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Если тебе роют яму, не мешай, закончат-сделаешь себе бассейн!

ЦИТАТА

ОТВЕТ

Feb 28 2009, 11:50 PMСообщение #69

+100

У нас поэтому поводу даже поговорка была: Настоящая женщина-эта та, у которой под брюками не рваные колготки. 😊

😊😊 супер! не слышала такой поговорки! 😊😊

Цитата

для меня самой доступной была икра минтая 😊

а енто хто? чито за зверь такой? 😊

(хотя он в холодильнике лежит, но узнала про него только в последний свой визит в Россию)

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It is not the strongest of the species that survives, nor the most intelligent that survives. It is the one that is the most adaptable to change.

Charles Darwin

Feb 28 2009, 11:57 PM

а енто хто? чито за зверь такой? 😊 (хотя он в холодильнике лежит, но узнала про него только в последний свой визит в Россию)

Ну, минтай мороженный обычно котам брали. Вот он на картинке, а вот его икра.

Сообщение отредактировал Louisa - Feb 28 2009, 11:58 PM

Прикрепленные файлы

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( 3.37 килобайт ) Кол-во скачиваний: 8

b\_5.jpg ( 18.2 килобайт ) Кол-во скачиваний: 5

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Если тебе роют яму, не мешай, закончат-сделаешь себе бассейн!

Mar 1 2009, 12:01 AMСообщение #71

Ну, минтай мороженный обычно котам брали. Вот он на картинке, а вот его икра.

а ща наверно другие баночки стали делать, т.к. что-то не узнаю ничего на Вашей картинке. Мы взяли в каком-то соусе белом и ещё какую-то, лень встать посмотреть, но точно не такие баночки. Они только сейчас у нас популярны стали, т.к. наверно дешевле и проще достать, чем выше мной перечисленные...

-----

It is not the strongest of the species that survives, nor the most intelligent that survives. It is the one that is the most adaptable to change.

Charles Darwin





у меня был любимый компот сливовый 😊 зимой мама делала компот из сухофруктов

еще почему-то вспоминаются сборы макулатуры. помню накануне родителю сказала, что у нас сбор макулатуры. А родители забыли. В панике с утра стали наспех насовывать мне каких-то газет и журналов (как же я в школу без макулатуры-то???). Выхожу я с этим кулем из подъезда. А дверь у нас была на очень жесткой пружине (вспомните фильм "12 стульев", где Остапа дверью в доме для старушек прихлопывает). Меня это дверь толкает, я отскакиваю, бумаги-газеты валятся на землю. А мимо проходил мальчик из моего класса, на которого я не обращала никогда внимания. Я немного растерялась - атмосфера в классе была жесткая, потом могли за такую ерунду и засмеять. Я секунду размышляла, как лучше поступить - эффектно переступить через макулатуру и пойти дальше как будто я тут ни при чем, или собрать (как же я в школу без макулатуры!!!). А мальчик вдруг покраснел, подошел ко мне и стал собирать. Для меня это было неожиданно. Он правда сказал, "не говори никому, не надо". Ну короче мы поняли друг друга почти без слов и отдельно друг от друга пошли в школу. Потом мальчик на уроках оборачивался и краснел, пару раз как бы случайно провожал до дома 😊

а я уж было обрадовалась, шо ты закончиш словами:  
"ну а вскоре, этот мальчег стал мой мужем " 😊

глобальное потепление, одноко



ЦИТАТА ОТВЕТ

да Mar 1 2009, 01:39 PM

Сообщение #77

а я уж было обрадовалась, шо ты закончиш словами:  
"ну а вскоре, этот мальчег стал мой мужем " 😊

неа, не стал, энто ж не сериал 😊 что-то не сложилось, уже не помню. Даже не знаю что с ним стало потом. Слышала даже что в тюрьму сел 😊



Все люди, как люди, а я - Королева!

Вот-вот, у парня, можно сказать, потом и жизнь не сложилась. И не исключено, что этот инцидент с макулатурой и ее хозяйкой сыграл определенную роль в его несложившейся жизни.[img]

вот в этом точно невиноватая я

это всё лихие 90-е 😊



Все люди, как люди, а я - Королева!

Пышный бюст иметь хотите, чтобы грудь была краса? Сиськи в улей опустите и держите полчасика!!!!

ЦИТАТА ОТВЕТ

Mar 1 2009, 08:22 PM

Сообщение #83

А ещё домой приносили паисную икорку,

Эх молодежь!  
ПаЮсная икорка та была.  
Ну и кто тут про бедное детство?

Сообщение #89

Сообщение отредактировал vekos - Mar 1 2009, 11:01 PM

ЦИТАТА    ОТВЕТ

Сообщение #90

“

😞 да,точно.

Born stupid? Try again!!!

Сообщение #91

669

А я и шас грызу кисель из брикетов. Зачем отказываться от того что сердцу мило.

А печень трески ?

И вообще, гламурно жить не запретишь.

Сообщение отредактировал **Arhus134** - Mar 2 2009, 02:16 AM

### Прикрепленные файлы

 [Glamour 5.jpg](#) ( 151.66 килобайт ) Кол-во скачиваний: 26

РЕСТОРАН

ЦИТАТА    ОТВЕТ

Сообщение #92

Помню в Таллине в 1990 году в старом городе объелась мороженым "Пингвин", 50 коп за шарик

В Гродно покупали жюевачки Турбо и Дональд по 40 коп за штуку, а у нас в городе эти же жюевачки продавались по рублю за штуку.

Еще пик моды в конце 80-х начала 90-х были яркие шнурки ( разных цветов на кроссовках) и яркие носочки ( в том же Таллине покупали за 10 рублей пару



Суточные были на всеукраинских соревнованиях Зр50коп в сутки, а на всесоюзных были Зр50 коп. Великолепная вареничная с комплексными обедами в Киеве на Хрещатике (уже нет 😞)

А лето в детстве проводилось на местном курорте Кобелево Коблево или в Скадовске с большим мотком сладкой ваты на палочке, с кулечком семечек и креветок. А самый пик был ползать на дерево ореха (яблони, вишни или черешни) под окном бабы Мани и огрызаться с ветки, а 1 сентября на линейке хвастаться у кого ладошки чернее от орехов 😊



▼

Mar 2 2009, 08:17 AM

Сообщение #93

Приколно читать воспоминания, осознаешь насколько я старше некоторых участников.. Помню вкус копченых говяжьих ребер, которые мы ели сидя в ночной очереди в Хабаровске за продовольствием. Помню при переезде в Украину что мама не верила что масло может продаваться просто так 2х видов (шоколадное и обычное, я не лю..) Самое вкусное сейчас вспоминается - иду домой из школы, покупаю булку (у нас какие то продавались типа рогаликов с сахаром сверху) и ситро.. Вот сейчас не то уже ситро.. А папа ругается тк бутылки никто сдавать не хочет..

-----

Якщо людина не сіється, вона набуть хвора або падлюка (Николай Васильевич Гоголь)

ЦИТАТА

ОТВЕТ


Mar 2 2009, 09:06 AM

Сообщение #94

Помню в Таллине в 1990 году в старом городе объелась мороженым "Пингвин", 50 коп за шарик

в Таллин помню ездили часто на выходные, закупили молочные-колбасные продукты, косметику и обувь с махровыми халатами 😊

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Все люди, как люди, а я - Королева!

\*\*\*\*\*

Пышный бюст инетъ хотите, чтобы груди была краса? Сиськи в улей опустите и держите полчаса!!!!

ЦИТАТА

ОТВЕТ

Mar 2 2009, 09:23 AM

Сообщение #95

Вон ты откуда, Надь, про рыб все знаешь. А я в Хабаровске 2 месяца в командировке жила, так только и помню в магазинах рыбы, рыбы, рыбы. Копченые, соленые, вареные и жареные. Думала светиться начну при приезде домой 😊

ЦИТАТА

ОТВЕТ

Mar 2 2009, 09:36 AM

Сообщение #96

Не, мое рыбное знание пришло гораздо позднее, как только рыборотговцем заделалась. В Хабаровске я такого изобилия не помню. Помню сушеного кальмара (он не продавался в других местах) и красная рыба, этой да, было много.. Помню яйца, начиненные икрой - и как это было невкусно тк икра в таком кол-ве вса таки очень солоно..Помню еще как серу жевали. В украине серы не было, жевали застывший сок вишен..

Сообщение отредактировал Nadiya - Mar 2 2009, 09:37 AM

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Якщо людина не сіється, вона набуть хвора або падлюка (Николай Васильевич Гоголь)

А я вспомнила зеленые бананы, которые хранили в темноте в стенке, чтоб дозрели. Но они не дозревали-их съедали зелено-невкусными. Вооот

А я кстати только зелёные люблю. 😊

Была на обезьянней выставке в России недавно, там был гид, который рассказывал о каждой обезьянке, так она сказала, что обезьянки предпочитают всё натуральное, и едят зелёные бананы. Потом она посоветовала покупать тоже только зелёные бананы, лучше дома дозреть, т.к. в современные бананы на российский рынок часто впрыскивают химикаты, чтобы они быстрее дозрели. Такие бананы обезьянки не едят, а человек не замечает химикатов.... 😊

It is not the strongest of the species that survives, nor the most intelligent that survives. It is the one that is the most adaptable to change.

Charles Darwin

ЦИТАТА    ОТВЕТ

Mar 2 2009, 03:51 PM

Сообщение #100

А я кстати только зелёные люблю. 😊

А я кстати только зелёные люблю. 😊

Была на обезьянней выставке в России недавно, там был гид, который рассказывал о каждой обезьянке, так она сказала, что обезьянки предпочитают всё натуральное, и едят зелёные бананы. Потом она посоветовала покупать тоже только зелёные бананы, лучше дома дозреть, т.к. в современные бананы на российский рынок часто впрыскивают химикаты, чтобы они быстрее дозрели. Такие бананы обезьянки не едят, а человек не замечает химикатов....

Химикатов не хватит во все бананы впрыскивать 😊

Думаю, Векос другие "зелёные бананы" в виду имела. Те, которые вообще зелёные. Их даже обезьяны есть не будут. Во рту всё склеивается. Их тут не продают. Их только в СССР можно было купить, отстояв длииинную очередь.

Если надо объяснять, то не надо объяснять.

Mar 2 2009, 03:59 PM

Сообщение #101

Химикатов не хватит во все бананы впрыскивать 😊

Думаю, Векос другие "зелёные бананы" в виду имела. Те, которые вообще зелёные. Их даже обезьяны есть не будут. Во рту всё склеивается. Их тут не продают. Их только в СССР можно было купить, отстояв длииинную очередь.

ага, понятно, в очереди за бананами не стояла, значит, не о том речь. 😊

(но тут всё равно покупаю зелёные 🍋)

It is not the strongest of the species that survives, nor the most intelligent that survives. It is the one that is the most adaptable to change

Charles Darwin

ЦИТАТА    ОТВЕТ

Mar 2 2009, 04:00 PM

Сообщение #102

Думаю, Векос другие "зелёные бананы" в виду имела. Те, которые вообще зелёные. Их даже обезьяны есть не будут. Во рту всё склеивается. Их тут не продают. Их только в СССР можно было купить, отстояв длииинную очередь.

Мои родители в 70-е годы работали 2 года в Африке. Они, вернувшись, поразили нас рассказом о том, что бананы, оказывается, делятся на 2 категории: "for cooking" и "for eating". И что наши beloved бананы, за которыми отставали очереди, из категории "for cooking". Мы тогда долго пытались вообразить, каким же райским вкусом должны обладать бананы "for eating", если те, что продаются в СССР, так божественно хороши...

P.S. 並贏得了數百萬美元的彩票。

07

Г  
О  
Р  
О  
С  
П  
О  
С  
В

Цитата (vekos @ Mar 1 2009, 10:39 PM)

А я вспомнила зеленые бананы, которые хранили в темноте в стенке, чтоб дозрели. Но они не дозревали-их съедали зелено-невкусными. Вооот  
А еще мы делали "бейлис". Бутылка водки на банку сгущенки с кофе. 😊

До сих пор люблю зеленые бананы. Мужу пыталась объяснить почему, но он вроде недопонял 😊  
Я просекала где родители их дозревать кладут, ну и дозревать практически ни одному банану не удавалось.

Вот помнится еще карамель "Дюшес" и большой белый бант на голове, а еще лучше 2 🍬🍬

ЦИТАТА ОТВЕТ

Mar 3 2009, 08:31 PM

Сообщение #108

Цитата (M)

Я помню кукурузные хлопья (светлая память Н.С.Хрущеву 😊). Потом их перестали производить.  
Вкус помню. Коробку помню, там два медвежонка были нарисованы, желтый и красный. Сейчас пробую разные сорта, ни один не похож, не ТОТ вкус.

Это ты кукурузные палочки имеешь ввиду 😊 коробку не помню, цену зато - 28 коп., у нас в России не продавались они почему, отрывались когда ездили в отпуск в РБ, самая вкусняшка была, когда в коробке сахарная обсыпка спрессовывалась и получались такие кусманы обалденные, но они не в каждой коробке попадались, поэтому проходили как особый деликатес 😊

мы еще из них торт делали - 200 гр ирисок примерно (Кис-кис, тузик или золотой ключик) растопить, добавить растопленного опять же сливочного масла (пачку). Полученной массой залить палочки предварительно высушенные в тарелку - все в холодильник, готовым считалось после застывания 😊 вкуснота .....  
похоже чем то на сегодняшнюю начинку Даим....  
хотя, ты права, тогдашнего вкуса сейчас не найдешь ....

еще помню картофельные чипсы на развес...

а вот петушки у меня здесь почему то не получаются, привезла раритет - форму, а сахар здесь не доходит до кондиции - засахаривается - что здесь даки  
таки добавляют в него 😊😊

а в колбаску вместо орехов мы добавляли изюм ..... хочу, хочу эту калорийную бомбу 😊

кста, орешницы не у кого нет для орешков со сгущенкой, случайно 😊

Mar 3 2009, 08:58 PM

Сообщение #109

Цитата (точка @ Mar 3 2009, 08:58 PM)

Это ты кукурузные палочки имеешь ввиду 😊 коробку не помню, цену зато - 28 коп., у нас в России не продавались они почему, отрывались когда ездили в отпуск в РБ,

Эти позже появились. Мама всегда из Свердловска привозила.

Цитата

а вот петушки у меня здесь почему то не получаются, привезла раритет - форму, а сахар здесь не доходит до кондиции - засахаривается - что здесь даки  
таки добавляют в него 😊😊

Мой личный (российский) опыт показывает, что ничего не надо добавлять. А ты как делаешь?

-----  
Если надо объяснять, то не надо объяснять.

ЦИТАТА ОТВЕТ

Mar 3 2009, 09:18 PM

Сообщение #110

Точка, сахар для петушков надо брать рафинированный. или очищенный. Тогда не будет засахариваться. Если нету такого. то добавляют уксуса или кислоты. Я б лимонной добавила. В детстве я гостила у бабушки с бабушкой. так там была родственница. которая сделала для детей конфеты тянучки. Тоже сахар варила. Технологию всю помню, но подвиг этот вряд ли повторю 😊

Жизнь  
Гру  
Стр  
Рег  
Сод  
Пр  
Сна  
Рез

07

Сообщение #115

Mar 3 2009, 10:11 PM

Я в этом году в России купила барбарис и дюшес конфеты. Принесла домой, разорвала целофан, развернула конфетку.....а они не пахнут и невкусные. Эх.... Правда штоль, потому что это было в детстве, все было вкуснее и натуральнее 😊

ЦИТАТА

ОТВЕТ

Сообщение #116

Mar 3 2009, 10:26 PM

А помните замечательные кубинские конфеты - оранжевые и розовые?  
А сырки глазированные тогда гораздо вкуснее были.  
А еще мне нравилось монпасье в такой круглой железной баночке. Баночка потом сохранялась для игрушек.

1.В человеческом невежестве весьма утешительно считать всё то за вздор, чего не знаешь. © Фонвизин Д.И.  
2.Наверняка есть местечко, где нам будет житься лучше, но пока - то мы здесь. Немецкая поговорка

Сообщение #117

Mar 3 2009, 10:37 PM

Цитата(elenew @ Mar 3 2009, 10:26 PM)

А помните замечательные кубинские конфеты - оранжевые и розовые?  
А сырки глазированные тогда гораздо вкуснее были.  
А еще мне нравилось монпасье в такой круглой железной баночке. Баночка потом сохранялась для игрушек.

Кубинские 🍬 конфеты.? Ты точно ничего не путаешь? По моему кубинские в России были только сигары. Или ты из какого то города, где привозили такое. 😊

ЦИТАТА

ОТВЕТ

Сообщение #118

Mar 3 2009, 10:42 PM

Цитата(elenew @ Mar 3 2009, 10:37 PM)

Кубинские 🍬 конфеты.? Ты точно ничего не путаешь? По моему кубинские в России были только сигары. Или ты из какого то города, где привозили такое. 😊

В Питере - всегда в т.н. "заказах" были. Практически у всех, кого помню - в прозрачных совершенно фантиках. Оранжевые - со вкусом апельсина,а красные - клубника.

1.В человеческом невежестве весьма утешительно считать всё то за вздор, чего не знаешь. © Фонвизин Д.И.  
2.Наверняка есть местечко, где нам будет житься лучше, но пока - то мы здесь. Немецкая поговорка



Жизнь

Гру

Стр

Рег

Соо

Про

Спа

Зав

Гру

Стр

Рег

Соо

Про

Спа

07

05

(a)

В Питере - всегда в т.н. "заказах" были. Практически у всех, кого помню - в прозрачных совершенно фантиках. Оранжевые - со вкусом апельсина, а красные - клубника.

AAAA. Ну, до нас тогда они не доезжали. Все кубинское питерцы съедали. 😊 Хотя какие то такие конфетки были.

ЦИТАТА

ОТВЕТ

Mar 4 2009, 01:35 PM

Сообщение #12

А в Крыму на базаре абрикосы были по 5 копеек за кг., вишни и черешни -по 15 коп. за кг .

А еще на всех городских ж/д вокзалах были небольшие мед.пункты, типа скорой помощи. Помощь была бесплатной . Сейчас не знаю, существуют ли.

## Appendix III.15

RUSFORUM:

DISCUSSION TOPIC "TVOROG, WOULD YOU TELL ME HOW TO MAKE IT"

<HTTP://RUSFORUM.DK/INDEX.PHP?S=22B7973D4BDDD07D7C7B774831F91D82&SHOWTOPIC=2225&HL=????  
??&ST=0>

OPENED: JUNE, 2005

CLOSED: JULY, 2005

ACCESSED: [AUGUST, 2008]

	<div> <div>Jun 10 2005, 01:44 PM</div> <div>Сообщение #1</div> <p>Люди добрые, перерыла весь форум, помню была такая тема как приготовить творог из местного A38 и не смогла найти!!! Помогите с рецептом. Спасибо заранее!!!!</p> <div> <div>СПАСИБО</div> <div>ЦИТАТА</div> <div>ОТВЕТ</div> </div> </div>
	<div> <div>Jun 10 2005, 02:48 PM</div> <div>Сообщение #2</div> <p>Я извиняюсь, что даю ссылку на свой ресурс, но это на 100 % по теме:</p> <p><a href="http://rusmedia.dk/002_227_katya02.htm">http://rusmedia.dk/002_227_katya02.htm</a></p> <div> <div>СПАСИБО</div> <div>ЦИТАТА</div> <div>ОТВЕТ</div> </div> </div>
	<div> <div>Jun 11 2005, 03:22 PM</div> <div>Сообщение #3</div> <p>Есть продукты сильно смахивающие на творог. Попробуйте в магазине поискать - не помню как пишется по датски, но звучат они так - Кварк и Хютте Уст. Думаю их проще будет "довести" до творога - если так не подойдет.</p> <p>-----</p> </div>
	<div> <div>Jun 11 2005, 03:32 PM</div> <div>Сообщение #4</div> <p>Если живете в Копенгагене или недалеко, проще всего-в польский магазин, там творог разной степени жирности и всегда свежий</p> <p>-----</p> </div>
	<div> <div>Jun 12 2005, 06:24 PM</div> <div>Сообщение #5</div> <p>хюттеост-некое подобие творога. я хочу зернистого творога со сливками-объединение!!</p> <p>-----</p> <p>бывают такие секунды,когда все решают минуты .и продолжается это часами.</p> <p>-----</p> </div>

	<p>А че с молока не как не получается ,оно наверно в магазинах пастеризованое(плохо скисает)я не знаю в деталях как делать творог,но мне знакомая всегда делала (жаль счас уехала),я ей молока ,а она творог,а сливки я сам делал ,вот токо мало чтот получалось(((с 5 литров чуть меньше литра(и то на дне жидкие.Вы купите какогото ёгурта или того вашего аццдофилиуса-помпилиуса и добавти в простое молоко ,тода оно быстро скиснет (у меня так знакомые испанцы делали)но вот токо с такого молока с под коровы,а не с пастерезованого и обезжыренного</p> <p>СПАСИБО</p> <p>ЦИТАТА ОТВЕТ</p>
<p>04</p> <p>(a)</p>	<p>Jun 13 2005, 03:21 PM Сообщение #15</p> <p>[QUOTE=вагус]А че с молока не как не получается ,оно наверно в магазинах пастеризованое(плохо скисает)я не знаю в деталях как делать творог,но мне знакомая всегда делала (жаль счас уехала),я ей молока ,а она творог,а сливки я сам делал ,вот токо мало чтот получалось(((с 5 литров чуть меньше литра(и то на дне жидкие.Вы купите какогото ёгурта или того вашего аццдофилиуса-помпилиуса и добавти в простое молоко ,тода оно быстро скиснет (у меня так знакомые испанцы делали)но вот токо с такого молока с под коровы,а не с пастерезованого и обезжыренного[QUOTE]</p> <p>а сливки то зачем самому делать, чего, а этого в Дании навалом нескольких видов в зависимости от % жирности, или у тебя молоко свое, в смысле коровы в хозяйстве?</p> <p>а я тут стала увлекатся гриллеост-тами, по вкусу очень напоминают сулугуни,</p> <p>Рикотта итальянская по вкусу близка к сладкому творогу (ИМХО), ну а маскарпоне - сливки густые, датский аналог сметана (крем фрече) 38%, в крем для тортов хорошо</p> <p>-----</p> <p><u>I shall not be responsible or liable for any loss based on any recommendation, forecast or other information herein contained.</u></p>
<p>a)</p>	<p>Ника (Nika @ 10.05.2005 - 13:44)</p> <p>Люди добрые, перерыла весь форум, поиню была такая тема как приготовить творог из местного А38 и не смогла найти!!! Помогите с рецептом. Спасибо заранее!!!</p> <p>на литр молока добавляется столовая ложка сметаны и выдерживается дня два. затем, скажем, литровая стеклянная банка с полученной смесью, ставится в заполненную водой кастрюлю (на дно кастрюли положить какую-нибудь тряпку или что-то в этом роде) и кипитится до разделения творога и воды. полученный творог перекладывается в марлю и сушится по-вкусу.</p>
<p>a)</p>	<p>СПАСИБО</p> <p>ЦИТАТА ОТВЕТ</p> <p>Jun 13 2005, 04:05 PM Сообщение #17</p> <p>А этот А38 при молочнице и прочих дисбактериозах влагалисча местные врачи рекомендуют.</p> <p>Его я так,к слову вспомнил,творога,конечно,так не сделать</p> <p>ну да, на ум пришел старый анекдот про свечи:</p> <p>...</p> <p>- а вы их ели?</p> <p>- (ехидно так) нет, я их в задницу засовывал!</p>
	<p>СПАСИБО</p> <p>ЦИТАТА ОТВЕТ</p> <p>Jun 13 2005, 07:36 PM Сообщение #18</p> <p>Люди добрые, перерыла весь форум, поиню была такая тема как приготовить творог из местного А38 и не смогла найти!!! Помогите с рецептом. Спасибо заранее!!!</p> <p>Ника, я делаю творог таким образом и не морочу головы себе долго.</p> <p>Берете А38 выливаете в кастрюлю, ставите на огонь, небольшой, и греете до того момента, пока не отделится вода(сыроватка) и творог.У меня это занимает где-то около 30-40 мин.Но прошу вас, не ориентируйтесь на мое время, я делаю все на глаз(он у меня на счет этого ОЧЕНЬ наметан).И потом ложу на друшлаг и держу до того времени, пока он станет мягким, не водявым.</p>

		Jun 14 2005, 09:36 PM	Сообщение #19
		Все очень-очень просто.(исходя из двух пакетов А-38).в Микроволновку на 10 минут на полную мощность.Остынет,процедить.Творог получается не хуже рыночного	
05 а(а)		СПАСИБО	ЦИТАТА ОТВЕТ
		Jun 15 2005, 08:21 AM	Сообщение #20
		[QUOTE=Маруся,14.06.2005 - 21:36] Все очень-очень просто.(исходя из двух пакетов А-38).в Микроволновку на 10 минут на полную мощность.Остынет,процедить.Творог получается не хуже рыночного [/QUOTE] хе,хе, как то читала про женский журнал который давал рекомендации женщинам о том как "освежить" старый лак для ногтей в микроволновке... в следующем номере жутко извинялись за испорченные микроволновки....  10 мин? а если микро мощная? там все вскипит и взорвется, я думаю 😊  хотя способ неплохой (ИМХО), только я пробывала в духовке на час полтора при 100 гр.С . Процеживать можно используя кофейные фильтры 😊  ----- <u>I shall not be responsible or liable for any loss based on any recommendation, forecast or other information herein contained.</u>	
ber 04 раз(а)		Jun 15 2005, 09:25 AM	Сообщение #21
		Вношу поправку.Обязательно накрыть крышкой емкость,в которой все будет греться.Моя микроволновка имеет мощность 900Вт.Ничего не взрывалось.Проверено многолетним опытом. 😊	
05 а(а)		СПАСИБО	ЦИТАТА ОТВЕТ
		Jun 15 2005, 09:35 AM	Сообщение #22
		<div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 15px; margin-bottom: 5px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;">Вношу поправку.Обязательно накрыть крышкой емкость,в которой все будет греться.Моя микроволновка имеет мощность 900Вт.Ничего не взрывалось.Проверено многолетним опытом. 😊</div> а-а-а, я думала вы прямо в пакетах предлагали греть 😊  потому как в духовке при 100 гр. можно прямо в пакете 😊  ----- <u>I shall not be responsible or liable for any loss based on any recommendation, forecast or other information herein contained.</u>	
ber 04 раз(а)		СПАСИБО	ЦИТАТА ОТВЕТ
		Jun 16 2005, 07:59 AM	Сообщение #23
		Дорогая Маруся, огромное спасибо за рецепт творога! Все вышло просто замечательно и не надо долго ждать. У меня из 2 пакетов А38 3,5 жирности при 10 минутах в микроволновке вышло 450 гр творога, и творог получился хороший, зернистый, такой, какой люблю. Огромное спасибо!! Кстати - тут в Stoff2000 продается что то типа марли - называется как то типа тряпочка для сыра.	

На Быв Гру Стр Реп Сос Сна

Нас Быв Гру Стр Реп Сос Сна

Сообщение #24

Jun 16 2005, 12:19 PM

Очень удобно отвечать творог на фильтре для кофе.

А это ссылка на страницу про творог и приготовление творога самостоятельно.  
<http://nazdorovie.com/phpBB2/viewtopic.php?p=77265#77265>

С этим проблема не только в Дании - ну не употребляют его так как мы в других странах.  
Посмотрите - наш народ чего только не придумает! 😊

еще можно изменить

СПАСИБО ЦИТАТА ОТВЕТ

Сообщение #25

Jun 16 2005, 01:37 PM

На здоровье.Рада,что все получилось.Я теперь и в Швейцарии научилась делать прекрасны творог.Надо приобрести патент.

СПАСИБО ЦИТАТА ОТВЕТ

Сообщение #28

Jun 17 2005, 07:11 AM

есть несколько способов приготовить творог. первый сквасить молоко а затем сложить в марлю и под гнет.пусть стекает сыворотка. можно по другому это для детей. поставить молоко на огонь и довести до кипения а затем бросить глюконат кальция несколько таблеток. молоко свернется и получится кальцинированный творог .очень полезно для маленьких деток.

СПАСИБО ЦИТАТА ОТВЕТ

Сообщение #29

Jul 13 2005, 10:47 AM

Ци [redacted] 2)

[redacted]

а где находятса этот самый польский магазин? Если не трудно дайте адрес пожалуйста.

Н Г Д Р С С	<div>Jul 13 2005, 11:03 AM</div> <div>Сообщение #31</div> <p>Проще сделать творог из Ymer - из 2 литров получается примерно 1 кг творога.</p> <p>Способ 1: Пакет открыть, в кастрюлю налить воды и на дно положить блюдечко. Пакет поставить в кастрюлю на блюдечко, чтобы не подгорел, и в духовку на 100 градусов. Через час духовку выключить, кастрюлю не вытаскивать до остывания. Потом откинуть на сито или марлю и дать стечь.</p> <p>Способ 2: более быстрый. 2 литра выливаются в стеклянную посудину и ставятся в микроволновку на половинную мощность на 20 минут. После этого студится и откидывается на сито. Если берете меньше Ymer, уменьшите время.</p> <p>Я пользуюсь вторым способом. Через пару часов уже почти готовый творог. Если нужен посуше - оставьте стекать подольше, часов на 8-10.</p> <p>Если делать из а-38, получается значительно меньше.</p> <div>ЦИТО</div> <div>ЦИТАТА ОТВЕТ</div>
	<div>Jul 13 2005, 11:11 AM</div> <div>Сообщение #32</div> <p>из умера творог можно варить прямо в пачке, не открывая, в кастрюлю с водой, - так проще.</p> <p>-----</p> <p><b>Деспотизм</b> - форма государственного устройства, при которой решающей силой является воля властителя, направленная к осуществлению его личных желаний, чуждая стремления к общему благу, и главное, не сдерживаемая законами, хотя бы изданными той же властью.</p> <div>ЦИТО</div> <div>ЦИТАТА ОТВЕТ</div>
	<div>Jul 18 2005, 03:55 AM</div> <div>Сообщение #33</div> <p>Очен просто делат творог:</p> <p>Смешат' пополам : молоко и А-38, поставитт кастрюлю на очен' медленный огон', черз 30-40 минут процедит', - творог готов</p> <div>ЦИТО</div> <div>ЦИТАТА ОТВЕТ</div>
	<div>Jul 18 2005, 03:55 AM</div> <div>Сообщение #33</div> <p>Очен просто делат творог:</p> <p>Смешат' пополам : молоко и А-38, поставитт кастрюлю на очен' медленный огон', черз 30-40 минут процедит', - творог готов</p> <div>ЦИТО</div> <div>ЦИТАТА ОТВЕТ</div>
Н Г Д Р С С	<div>Jul 18 2005, 09:28 AM</div> <div>Сообщение #34</div> <p>Вам нужно: 1 пачка Ymer и 1 пачка Kærnemælk</p> <p>Способ: Откройте обе пачки, поставьте их в высокую кастрюлю в воду так, чтобы 2/3 части пачек было покрыто водой. Поставьте на плиту и ожидайте кипения воды. Как только вода закипит, скрутите до слабого огня и перемешайте хорошо в пачках, продолжайте перемешивать в течении 5 минут.</p> <p>Снимите с плиты и дайте остынуть не более 5-10 минут.</p> <p>Процедите содержание обеих пачек через тонкое сито и вывалите быстро в какую-либо посуду, посыпьте одной или двумя маленькими щепотками соли и перемешайте.</p> <p>Разложите марлю в другую посуду и перенесите всю массу на поверхность марли. Свяжите марлю и повесьте на всю ночь на водопроводный кран для зрения.</p> <p>Утром у вас будет хороший зрелый творог! Если получился слишком сухой, добавьте чайную ложку сметаны.</p> <p>Солить не обязательно, это только на любителя.</p> <p>Делать лучше вечером!</p> <p>Немного длинный способ приготовления, но качество продукта лучше.</p> <p>-----</p> <p>Терпите господа, скоро весна!</p>

[illegible]



↑ НАВЕРХ

ЖАЛОБА

СПАСИБО

ЦИТАТА

ОТВЕТ

Jul 31 2005, 11:41 AM

Сообщение #43

Ц

Меня, тут, подружка угостила молоком настоящим, до конца жизни не забуду.

СНто значит настоящим? 😊 ???????????? Свое личное что-ли????????? 😊

ЦИТАТА (Рыбка-шлячка @ 31.07.2005 - 00:20)

Меня, тут, подружка угостила молоком настоящим, до конца жизни не забуду.

СНто значит настоящим? 😊 ???????????? Свое личное что-ли????????? 😊

Непастерилизованное.

2004.07.31

ЦИТАТА

ОТВЕТ

Jul 31 2005, 12:57 PM

Сообщение #46

Ц

Меня, тут, подружка угостила молоком настоящим, до конца жизни не забуду.

СНто значит настоящим? 😊 ???????????? Свое личное что-ли????????? 😊

Непастерилизованное.

2004.07.31

ЦИТАТА

ОТВЕТ

## Appendix III.16

<HTTP://NAZDOROVIE.COM/PHPBB2/VIEWTOPIC.PHP?P=77265#77265>

ACCESSED: [AUGUST, 2008]

HYPERLINKED FROM:

DISCUSSION TOPIC "TVOROG, WOULD YOU TELL ME HOW TO MAKE IT."

<HTTP://RUSFORUM.DK/INDEX.PHP?SHOWTOPIC=2225&HL=?????&ST=20>, APPENDIX III.15

**T**

Талин объем  
<http://nazdorie.com/phpBB2/viewtopic. ... 27#p168327>

Творог и из творога  
<http://nazdorie.com/phpBB2/viewtopic. ... 10#p166410>

Творог готовим сами  
<http://nazdorie.com/phpBB2/viewtopic. ... 12#p166412>

Сведения о различных сортах творога и рекомендации по использованию этих сортов для коктейля сибарита.  
<http://nazdorie.com/phpBB2/viewtopic. ... 12#p166412>  
<http://nazdorie.com/phpBB2/viewtopic. ... 13#p166413>

Творог и кисломолочные продукты в разных странах и городах  
<http://nazdorie.com/phpBB2/viewtopic. ... 13#p166413>

< HTTP://NAZDOROVIE.COM/PHPBB2/VIEWTOPIC.PHP?P=166413#P166413>

ACCESSED: [AUGUST, 2008]

HYPERLINKED FROM:

< HTTP://NAZDOROVIE.COM/PHPBB2/VIEWTOPIC.PHP?P=77265#77265>

**Творог в разных странах и городах**

В нашем городе продается молочная продукция только высокой жирности.  
<viewtopic.php?p=20351#p20351>

- Бухарест  
<viewtopic.php?p=95787#p95787>
- Воронеж «Иван Поддубный»  
<viewtopic.php?p=148904#p148904>
- Германия  
<viewtopic.php?p=158453#p158453>
- французский творог Nicoleicht в Германии  
<viewtopic.php?p=101900#p101900>
- Дания  
<viewtopic.php?p=142812#p142812>
- Таллин  
<viewtopic.php?p=181945#p181945>
- Украина  
<viewtopic.php?p=170803#p170803>
- Финляндия Ehrmann производитель Германия  
<viewtopic.php?p=99741#p99741>
- Израиль  
<viewtopic.php?p=105429#p105429>  
<viewtopic.php?p=28541#p28541>  
<viewtopic.php?p=41202#p41202>  
<viewtopic.php?p=48229#p48229>  
<viewtopic.php?p=42392#p42392>  
<viewtopic.php?p=38485#p38485>  
<viewtopic.php?p=169547#p169547>
- гвинат тнува в Израиле  
<viewtopic.php?p=99462#p99462>
- USA  
<viewtopic.php?p=37818#p37818>  
<viewtopic.php?p=18790#p18790>  
<viewtopic.php?p=15076#p15076>  
<viewtopic.php?p=8946#p8946>  
<viewtopic.php?p=97432#p97432>
- Анадыйр  
<viewtopic.php?p=108603#p108603>
- Брянск  
<viewtopic.php?p=10524#p10524>
- Владивосток  
<viewtopic.php?p=78086#p78086>
- Волгоград  
<viewtopic.php?p=14617#p14617>

### Appendix III.17

**RUSFORUM:**

**DISCUSSION TOPIC “CHEESES, WILL YOU HELP ME WITH THE NAMES OF THE CHEESES”**

< [HTTP://RUSFORUM.DK/INDEX.PHP?SHOWTOPIC=19804&ST=40](http://rusforum.dk/index.php?showtopic=19804&st=40) >

**OPENED: MAY, 2010**

ACCESSED: [MAY, 2010]

**TOPIC IS ACTIVE**

**• Сыры, Подскажите название сыров**

May 14 2010, 02:06 PM Сообщение #1

Вобщем замаялась я покупать и выбрасывать сыры, которые не такие уж и дешёвые особенно для студента. Уже 3-ий раз покупаю сыр открываю и выбрасываю. Они все здеть вонючие или есть нормальные, привычные нашему вкусу? Я не гурман в плане сыров, люблю домашний сыр (который с творога варится) вобщем сыры которые без плесени и не воняют, хотя не вру с плесенью люблю, но только который Канамбер (может он и не так называется, но он белый снаружи и очень мягкий внутри и не воняет), но для бедных студентов такое не по карману. Есть ли такие сыры в Дании? И какие цены на них в среднем (может я какие-то левые покупала, они были в районе 90-100 кр/кг)?

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May 18 2010, 10:59 AM Сообщение #60

Цитировать

ой, народ, только не надо о том что в Дании сыра нет 😊... в Дании любой сыр можно найти...

Прям так уж и любые?

Ну расскажите тогда, где купить плавленый сыр Коралл? Люблю его очень, привезла в последний раз пару пачек из Москвы, так давно съела уже. И где его теперь в Дании, в которой якобы "все есть", раздобыть??



V.I.P.

Регистрация: 22-June 04  
Сообщений: 3,730  
Спасибо сказали: 675 раз(а)

## Appendix III.18

< [HTTP://WWW.ARLA.DK/PRODUKTER/BRANDS/BUKO/BUKO-REJEOST-40/](http://www.arla.dk/produkter/brands/buko/buko-rejeost-40/)>

ACCESSED: [MAY, 2010]

HYPERLINKED FROM:

DISCUSSION TOPIC “CHEESES, WILL YOU HELP ME WITH THE NAMES OF THE CHEESES”

< [HTTP://RUSFORUM.DK/INDEX.PHP?SHOWTOPIC=19804&ST=40](http://rusforum.dk/index.php?showtopic=19804&st=40)>, APPENDIX III.17


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### Arla Buko® RejeOst 40+

Arla Buko® RejeOst 40+ er en smøreost med 17% fedt med rejer. Osten er særdeles velegnet i en sandwich eller ciabattabolle med fx rejeost, salat, rødlæg og kylling og er altid en vinder på morgenbordet.



PRODUKTINFORMATION	
<b>Opbevaring:</b>	Opbevares ved højst +5 grader C.
<b>Bedst før:</b>	Uåbnet: Se bagerets bund - mindst holdbar til. Åbnet: 4-6 dage.
<b>Ingredienser:</b>	Ost, vand, rejer min. 8%, smeltesalt E339, lactose, skummetmælkspulver, smør og surhedsregulerende middel E330.
<b>Næringsværdi per 100 g:</b>	Energi 920 KJ Protein 15 g Fedt 17 g Kulhydrat 2 g Saltindhold 3,5 g
<b>Mængde:</b>	20, 125, 250 g
<b>Frysning:</b>	Smelteoste kan ikke fryses.
<b>Producent:</b>	Birkum Mejeri.
<b>Økologisk:</b>	Nej

## Appendix III.19

### RUSFORUM:

DISCUSSION TOPIC "HELLO, I AM [NAME OF THE PARTICIPANT], DOCTOR-PSYCHOTHERAPIST FROM IRELAND."

< HTTP://RUSFORUM.DK/INDEX.PHP?SHOWTOPIC=21936>

OPENED: JANUARY 2, 2011

ACCESSED: [JANUARY 2, 2011]

TOPIC IS ACTIVE

► Русский форум в Дании > Свободные форумы > Добро пожаловать

Здравствуйте, [имя], врач-психотерапевт из Ирландии.
Опции ▼

Jan 2 2011, 08:30 PM
Сообщение #1

Неужели я первый, кто решился представиться Форуму?!  
Ну так вот - это я, ваш сосед по Еврокоммуналке.

Вообще-то мы у себя, в Ирландии, общаемся в своём местном форуме, нет - даже в трёх, которые отпочковались в процессе жизни.

В Ирландии основная масса русскоязычных сформировалась 10 лет назад, в основном программисты.  
Теперь у всех дети (правительство очень поощряло, давало гражданство родителям за этот подвиг).

Приехало слишком много беременных программистов 😊 и правительство испугалось, правила игры поменяли.  
А люди остались. Теперь мы "англо-россияне", айрусичи и проч. афро-украинцы...

Хотя большинство ощущают себя просто европейцами. Или программистами. Или врачами, как я, например.

Это было, теперь больше волнуют простые ежедневные, бытовые дела, чем антропологические или политические темы. Надоело уже.

Вот, например: были заморозки и водопроводные трубы полопались.  
Морозов в Ирландии не бывало раньше, вот и "катастрофа".  
Это актуально.  
Актуальны кредиты, взятые для покупки домов в момент, когда "Кельтский тигр" раздул цены на дома в 2,5-3 раза.  
Актуально образование детей. Создали много русскоязычных школ выходного дня. Есть чем гордиться!

Актуально здоровье, скорее нездоровье. Заболеваемость у иммигрантов, по данным местной статистики, в 5 раз больше по сравнению с местной публикой. Особенно плохо по психосоматике и депрессиям.  
Тем более, что иммигрантов увольняют первыми в это кризисное время...

+ "иммигрантский синдром"  
=> Трудно семьям сохраниться.  
Рушатся семьи массово.  
Опять же детям слезы, взрослым несчастье.

Поэтому, после организации сети "наших" школ взялись мы за организацию сети "нашей" психологической помощи.  
Создаются телефоны психологической помощи, появились практикующие детские психологи и взрослые психотерапевты, психоаналитики.

Сидеть по своим национальным ирландским и датским, пр. деревушкам скучно, интереснее общаться на наши общие актуальные темы по-русски в рамках Евросоюза - так легче развиваться, искать гранты, лоббировать свои интересы в правительствах.  
Так интереснее жить!

Поэтому я и появился на Вашем, близком для меня, Форуме:  
задумали мы провести конференцию психотерапевтов и психологов, соц. работников, думающих по-русски.

Познакомиться, пообщаться, наладить взаимоподдержку, повышение квалификации, социальную рекламу для "наших" семей, мам и пап, людей с психологическими перегрузками и дискомфортом.  
Вместе легче выживать, интегрироваться, быть успешными в конкуренции с местным населением.  
Просто жить счастливо.

Предварительно приглашаю - на конференцию в виде "мастерских" (приедут лучшие тренеры),  
"круглые столы" по актуальным или интересным темам,  
насыщенная культурная программа, интенсивная "неформальная" программа (круглосуточная!)

**4-5-6 июня 2011 в Дублине, Ирландия.**

Есть спонсоры, есть волонтеры, есть специалисты, просто хорошие умные люди.  
Приглашаем и Вас!

Сergeй Дунаев, психотерапевт, Дублин.

НАВЕРХ ЖАЛОБА СПАСИБО
ЦИТАТА ОТВЕТ



Отвѣтов (1 - 19)

Jan 2 2011, 08:44 PM

Сообщение #2

Просто жить счастливо.

Так что приглашаю пообщаться всех желающих и, особенно, моих коллег психологов и психотерапевтов на эти темы.

Предварительно приглашаю - на конференцию в виде "мастерских" (приедут лучшие тренеры), "круглые столы" по актуальным или интересным темам, насыщенная культурная программа, интенсивная "неформальная" программа (круглосуточная)

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Приглашаем и Вас!

Сергей Дунаев, психотерапевт, Дублин.

за чей счёт проживание, проезд и визовая поддержка?



Все люди, как люди, а я - Королева!

Пышный бюст иметь хотите, чтобы грудь была краса? Сиськи в улей опустите и держите полчаса!!!!

↑ HABEPX

ЖАЛОБА

СПАСИБО

+ ЦИТАТА

**» ОТВЕТ**

Jan 2 2011, 09:20 PM

Сообщение #5

Актуально здоровье, скорее нездоровье. Заболеваемость у иммигрантов, по данным местной статистики, в 5 раз больше по сравнению с местной публикой.+ "иммигрантский синдром"

интересно, я в первый раз о таком слышу. всех кого видел здоровые как быки.  
в любом теннисном клубе на всех площадках - русские. на горных лыжах на всех склонах - русские.  
местные мне уже жаловались что не пробиться. похоже на манежную площадь скоро пойдут.

и что это за синдром такой иммигрантский?

### Цитата

Трудно семьям сохраниться. Рушатся семьи массово.

ни одного случая не знаю, что там у вас в Ирландии происходит та?

**РЕСТОРАН**



**ЖАЛОБА**

СПАСИБО

+ ЦИТАТА

” OTBET

Jan 2 2011, 09:33 PM

Сообщение #6

тебе психотерапевт нужен? 😊))))

Читать люблю.

P.S. 並贏得了數百萬美元的彩票。

Спасибо сказали:

↑ HABEPX

**ЖАЛОБА**

СПАСИБО

+ ЦИТАТА

**” OTBET**

Jan 2 2011, 09:53 PM

Сообщение #7

Если это психотерапевт и он готов проводить свои "мастерские" - то проживание и проезд оплачивает спонсор.  
Если нужна визовая поддержка, то оказываем тем, кто является специалистом (сертифицированным психотерапевтом или психологом) и это предмет для переговоров.

Если специалист окажется ценным - будут переговоры об открытии **трудоустройства в Европу по специальности**

Про русскоязычных горнолыжников - это старый [анекдот](#)

"Синдром иммигранта" или "Уиллис синдром" - смотри [здесь](#), в русскоязычной Испании работают с этим, диаспоры продавали правительство с специальной медицинской программой для иммигрантов.

А на нашей конференции это - тема "круглого стола": лоббирование подобных программ для диаспор в Брюсселе.

Сообщение отредактировал **SergDunaev** - Jan 2 2011, 10:59 PM

↑ НАВЕРХ

⚠ ЖАЛОБА

🙏 СПАСИБО

✚ ЦИТАТА

💬 ОТВЕТ

Jan 2 2011, 11:20 PM

Сообщение #8

Весьма надуманные проблемы. У нас проблемы и проще, и сложнее, нам психолог уже не поможет.

-----

Свободу Мишке!

Спасибо сказали:

↑ НАВЕРХ

⚠ ЖАЛОБА

🙏 СПАСИБО

✚ ЦИТАТА

💬 ОТВЕТ

Jan 2 2011, 08:58 PM

Сообщение #3

Понравилась первая часть сообщения. Афтар, пешы исчо!

-----

P.S. 並贏得了數百萬美元的彩票。

↑ НАВЕРХ

⚠ ЖАЛОБА

🙏 СПАСИБО

✚ ЦИТАТА

💬 ОТВЕТ


Jan 2 2011, 09:17 PM

Сообщение #4

Понравилась первая часть сообщения. Афтар, пешы исчо!

тебе психотерапевт нужен? 😊))))))

-----



Все люди, как люди, а я - Королева!

\*\*\*\*\*

Пышный бюст иметь хотите, чтобы грудь была красна? Сиськи в улей опустите и держите полчаса!!!!

↑ НАВЕРХ

⚠ ЖАЛОБА

🙏 СПАСИБО

✚ ЦИТАТА

💬 ОТВЕТ

## Appendix III.20

<HTTP://WWW.IGUANA.WS/INDEX.PHP?OPTION=COM\_CONTENT&VIEW=ARTICLE&ID=295:SINDROMIMM&CATID=14:2009-12-09-14-26-11&ITEMID=173>

ACCESSED: [JANUARY 2, 2011]

HYPERLINKED FROM:

DISCUSSION TOPIC "HELLO, I AM [NAME OF THE PARTICIPANT], DOCTOR-PSYCHOTHERAPIST FROM IRELAND."

< HTTP://RUSFORUM.DK/INDEX.PHP?SHOWTOPIC=21936>, APPENDIX III.19



Revista IGUANA XXI en castellano

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В прошлом номере, в статье о деятельности ассоциации «Альмерия по-русски», мы упоминали о «Синдроме Улисса» – разновидности стресса, которому подвергаются иммигранты. Об этом явлении и пойдет сейчас речь.

Вдали от родины, близких, друзей, вне привычных условий проживания, без стабильной работы и крова многие люди начинают терять способность к адаптации. Накопленные страхи, негативные эмоции и переживания выливаются в физические последствия: хронические головные боли и усталость, частые беспричинные слезы, дисфункция пищевой системы, повышенная раздраженность, депрессия, бессонница. Однако речь не идет о конкретном психическом заболевании – это своего рода пограничное состояние между здоровьем и болезнью.

Название этому явлению было дано неслучайно: Улисс (греч. Одиссей), герой гомеровской «Илиады», сильно тосковал по своей родине Итаке, постоянно встречая препятствия на пути домой. Данный синдром был впервые идентифицирован испанским психиатром, профессором Хосеба Ачотеги. По подсчетам последнего, на данный момент в мире более 200 миллионов иммигрантов подвержены этому виду стресса и около 800 000 – в Испании. Согласно доктору Ачотеги, существуют 7 основных болевых точек для людей, которые покидают свое привычное место жительства: семья и близкие, язык, культура, родная земля, социальный статус, окружение, опасность для жизни. Нарушение баланса привычной ментальной схемы этих факторов многим становится не под силу. «Одиночество, крах намеченных целей, жизнь на грани полной нищеты и страх в совокупности являются психологической и психосоциальной основой синдрома Улисса», – утверждает Хосеба Ачотеги. Хроническая головная боль является наиболее часто встречаемым симптомом среди пациентов, поэтому был даже введен термин «им-мигрень».

Профессор добавляет, что не существует различий между мужчинами и женщинами, а также национальностями – абсолютно все группы иммигрантов в той или иной степени подпадают под воздействие синдрома. Определенная роль в данной ситуации, безусловно, возлагается на принимающее общество. Феномен «Синдрома Улисса» в Испании признан официально, существуют государственные программы для поддержки иммигрантов, открыты и действуют специальные центры, оказывающие психологическую помощь. Ниже приводим информацию о некоторых из них.

#### Барселона:

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### Appendix III.21

#### CONVERSATION DURING THE SUMMER LUNCH OF THE DANISH-RUSSIAN SOCIETY IN AALBORG, JUNE 30, 2007

1. L: The others they are just <too young>!
2. Masha: (laugh) YOUNG what do you <mean>? we are not old (laugh) no you
3. are right it is all about age...what would we talk about with these young
4. girls.
5. L: Right.. husbands and work permits this is all they are interested in.
6. Masha: They would just be interrupting us with all their questions.
7. L: You see we are passed this stage you know.. we have different interests.
8. They do not want to listen to us.
9. Masha: They do not want to hear about children and what they eat and how they
10. sleep.
11. V: <or about recipes>.
12. Many: (laugh)
13. L: No it is about AGE but it is also about [social status].
14. V: [Yes] [social status].
15. Masha: [And everybody]
16. thinks that thinks that social status is important.
17. L: And Ulrik's wife says the same the same with Chinese.. that is what
18. everybody thinks about when they meet.
19. And then I have met this guy from Estonia and he says the same it is all
20. about WHO you are in life.
21. RESEARCHER: What do you mean?
22. V: It is education.
23. L: \Right\.. \Education\.
24. And WHERE you are from..village or city.
25. RESEARCHER: So are you talking about social status before coming to Denmark or
26. now?
27. L: <<Before it's mostly before>>
28. MASHA: But also now!

## Appendix III.22

RUSMAM, AUGUST 24, 2008

1. U1: You must have more sheep milk there<sup>96</sup>?
2. Z: No we eat [tvorog] as well.. NORMAL [tvorog].
3. Nadja: (turning to the researcher) We are talking about .. that there is a problem
4. that the newcomers they come here and start .. ahh <<you know>>.. but
5. we are who has been here already.. we are sick and tired of this topic
6. that's why there is a border here.
7. U2: <Yes>
8. Nadja: (incomp.) Because naturally there is a stream of new people and the old
9. ones they have already become friends <<you know>> have polished
10. the sharp edges and this theme about [tvorog] and Danish men <<you
11. know>> language, school, attaining of the permit all this they have
12. passed but the newcomers.. naturally.. are coming out with these
13. problems but..we are not always are interested in hearing them.. already
14. not..that's why.
15. Marina: <Have you heard about this [odnoklassniky dot ru]>?
16. you know there is a group there now Russian speaking in Denmark..
17. it is also about all these residence permits so I think it is going to be
18. easier now because all the newcomers can be sent there now and they can
19. read and talk about it THERE.

---

<sup>96</sup> in Kazakhstan

### Appendix III.23

RUSMAM “WITHOUT CHILDREN GET-TOGETHER”, SEPTEMBER 6, 2008

1. Z: I am asking her<sup>97</sup> [tvorog] / is it Russian / ?
2. WHICH Russian?
3. or from WHERE?
4. She says storage house.
5. I want to know the address (laughs) where it is FROM.
6. Nadja: OF COURSE it is produced in Germany.
7. It has to be produced in the European Union I don't know why they
8. stopped producing in the //Baltic countries//
9. Tanja: // < in Poland> // some of it is produced.
10. Nadja: <<Yes in Poland>> I just don't understand why they don't produce more
11. in the Baltic countries because it is allowed now they are in the EU now.
12. Z: Fatima by the way is bringing some of the products from Poland..
13. IT SAYS SO \ POLAND

### Appendix III.24

RUSMAM, SEPTEMBER 7, 2008

1. Nadia: In the beginning people are ready to go and to travel far to get Russian
2. food or to talk to people in a Russian cafe and then they visit the
3. Russian shop often. Then you buy something only if you are there anyway.
4. Z: In the beginning I was ready to travel to FREDERIKSHAVN to talk to
5. Russians.. now I wouldn't go to Vrå.. it is too far away.
6. T: I would go there if it was on my way to work..let's say instead of
7. buying kiks<sup>98</sup> I would buy sushki<sup>99</sup>.

---

<sup>97</sup> The owner of the shop

<sup>98</sup> “kiks” – biscuits (Danish)

<sup>99</sup> “sushki” – type of hard biscuits (Russian)

### Appendix III.25

RUSMAM, SEPTEMBER 21, 2009

1. Katja: She<sup>100</sup> says to me with such CONTEMPT.. like how can it be that he<sup>101</sup>
2. doesn't eat bread?..
3. THIS IS \ how it is I say..
4. he eats NORMAL food.
5. She is like FOR EXAMPLE?
6. SALMON I say ..
7. red caviar with big spoons.
8. Many: (laughing, nodding)

### Appendix III.26

INTERVIEW WITH FATIMA, THE OWNER OF SADKO, SEPTEMBER 24, 2008

1. Fatima: I am largely buying such products..these goods are slightly more
2. expensive but I am buying..exactly not Polish [zephyr]<sup>102</sup> but the one from
3. [Lime]<sup>103</sup>.. the ones that we USED to eat.
4. Some sweets are going to arrive soon hmm [Veche]..[Vechernaja Moskva]
5. that is..
6. I am not taking the Polish ones.
7. Researcher: WHY? What are they worse?
8. Fatima: <<There is more soya in the chocolate>>.. I am buying more
9. expensive products but more natural

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<sup>100</sup> Danish day-carer

<sup>101</sup> Katja's son

<sup>102</sup> "Zephyr" (from Russian "зефир") – Meringues

<sup>103</sup> The name of the Lithuanian food company



### Appendix III.27

**RUSMAM, OCTOBER 05, 2008**

1. Researcher: And what are YOU eating?
2. T: Mackerel of course..
3. GOOD \ HEALTHY \ mackerel

**RUSMAM, OCTOBER 05, 2008**

1. Nadja: < Is anybody hungry > ?..
2. < Here is liver pâté >..
3. Good liver pâté the secret is to put it in a THICK layer
4. Many (laugh)

### Appendix III.28

**RUSMAM, NOVEMBER 16, 2008**

1. Z: <<Listen listen>> I bought this Russian soup for children yesterday
2. you KNOW with chicken <red> hen its name is..
3. Researcher: Where did you buy it?
4. Z: In the Asian shop OF COURSE << it is owned by an Afghan couple
5. she speaks Russian a little>>..
6. << the soup is Polish of course>> but it tastes like in my childhood.

## LIST OF FIGURES

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<b>Figure 1: Engaging the Nexus of Practice: Four Aspects of Knowing in Identifying and Becoming Identified within the Sites of Actors' Engagement (Inspired by the "Practical Fieldguide for Nexus Analysis" (Scollon &amp; Scollon, 2004)).....</b>	<b>78</b>
<b>Figure 2: Four Aspects of Knowing the Sites of Actors' Engagement in Conducting the Ethnography of Practice (Inspired by the "Practical Fieldguide for Nexus Analysis" (Scollon &amp; Scollon, 2004)) .....</b>	<b>79</b>
<b>Figure 3: Discursive Framing of the Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg Constructed within the &lt;<a href="http://www.dkrus-aalborg.dk">http://www.dkrus-aalborg.dk</a>&gt; Website (Appendix III.1) .....</b>	<b>95</b>
<b>Figure 4: Archive of events in the Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg (&lt;<a href="http://www.dkrus-aalborg.dk">http://www.dkrus-aalborg.dk</a>&gt; [June 2007]), Appendix III.1 .....</b>	<b>105</b>
<b>Figure 5: Recognising the Nexus of Practices - Becoming Recognized within the Nexus of Practices.....</b>	<b>119</b>
<b>Figure 6.....</b>	<b>122</b>
<b>Figure 7: Multi-sequential Conversational Organization in Computer-Mediated Interaction on Rusforum, Appendix III.2 .....</b>	<b>124</b>
<b>Figure 8: Rusmam, September 7, 2008 .....</b>	<b>150</b>
<b>Figure 9.....</b>	<b>155</b>
<b>Figure 10: Ethnography of Practice: Data Archiving – Data Selecting .....</b>	<b>157</b>
<b>Figure 11: Spatial and graphic solutions to the presentation of multimodal, translated computer-mediated data .....</b>	<b>177</b>
<b>Figure 12: Examples of Uses of Discursive inscriptions "Our" and "Russian" in Relation to Prandial Practices: .....</b>	<b>208</b>
<b>Figure 13: Prandial Practices .....</b>	<b>210</b>
<b>Figure 14: 'Us' Vs. "Them" Categorization, Excerpt 17 .....</b>	<b>217</b>
<b>Figure 15: Memory Work in the Construction of Transnational Identities .....</b>	<b>230</b>
<b>Figure 16: "Russian Food", Tvorog .....</b>	<b>245</b>
<b>Figure 17:.....</b>	<b>257</b>
<b>Figure 18: Intensification of Discursive Effect, Transcript 2.....</b>	<b>264</b>
<b>Figure 19: Symmetrical Organisation of a Conversational Pair in Transcript 4 .....</b>	<b>273</b>
<b>Figure 20: Transnational Connecting in the Construction of National Category: Transcript 9 .....</b>	<b>280</b>

## LIST OF IMAGES

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Image 1: Events Archive (Website of the Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg, 2003-2006), Appendix III.1.....	96
Image 2: Events Archive (Website of the Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg, 2002-2006), Appendix III.1.....	96
Image 3: Events Archive (Website of the Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg, 2004), Appendix III.1.....	97
Image 4: Events Archive (Website of the Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg, 2001-2004), Appendix III.1.....	97
Image 5: Events Archive (Website of the Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg, 2002-2005), Appendix III.1.....	98
Image 6: Events Archive (Website of the Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg, 1999-2004), Appendix III.1.....	98
Image 7: Events Archive (Website of the Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg, 2006-2007), Appendix III.1.....	99
Image 8: Events Archive (Website of the Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg, 2004), Appendix III.1.....	99
Image 9: Events Archive (Website of the Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg, 2002-2004), Appendix III.1.....	99
Image 10: Events Archive (Website of the Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg, 2003-2006), Appendix III.1.....	100
Image 11: Events Archive (Website of the Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg, 1999-2002), Appendix III.1.....	100
Image 12: Events Archive (Website of the Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg, 2000-2003), Appendix III.1.....	101
Image 13: Website of the Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg (Main Page and Events Archive), Appendix III.1.....	102
Image 14, Appendix III.1 .....	114
Image 15, Appendix III.1 .....	115
Image 16: The Summer Lunch of the Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg, June 30, 2007 .....	116
Image 17: The Summer Lunch of the Danish-Russian Society in Aalborg, June 30, 2007 .....	116
Image 18, Appendix III.1 .....	117
Image 19: Rusmam, September 7, 2008 .....	141
Image 20: Rusmam, September 6, 2008 .....	142
Image 21: The Russian School, "Winter Concert", January 1, 2010.....	142
Image 22: Rusmam, August 23, 2008.....	143
Image 23: "Paramon", March 29, 2009.....	143

<b>Image 24: Sadko, 24.09.2008.....</b>	<b>237</b>
<b>Image 25: Sadko, 24.09.2008.....</b>	<b>237</b>
<b>Image 26: Sadko 24.09.2008.....</b>	<b>237</b>
<b>Image 27: “Sadko” September 24, 2008.....</b>	<b>240</b>
<b>Image 29: “Sadko” September 24, 2008 (books available for reading in the shop, for borrowing and exchange).....</b>	<b>240</b>
<b>Image 28: “Sadko” September 24, 2008.....</b>	<b>240</b>
<b>Image 31: Sadko, 24.09.2008.....</b>	<b>259</b>
<b>Image 30: Sadko, 24.09.2008.....</b>	<b>259</b>
<b>Image 32: Rusmam Playgroup Meeting: Katja and her son getting ready for lunch, September 21, 2008.....</b>	<b>270</b>
<b>Image 33: Rusmam Playgroup Meeting: T and her son having lunch, October 5, 2008.....</b>	<b>276</b>
<b>Image 34: Rusmam Playgroup Meeting, November 16, 2008 .....</b>	<b>279</b>
<b>Image 35: Sadko, 24.09.2008.....</b>	<b>282</b>
<b>Image 36: Sadko, 24.09.2008.....</b>	<b>283</b>
<b>Image 37: Sadko, 24.09.2008.....</b>	<b>283</b>
<b>Image 38: Sadko, 24.09.2008.....</b>	<b>283</b>
<b>Image 39 .....</b>	<b>284</b>
<b>Image 40.....</b>	<b>284</b>

## LIST OF TABLES

---

<b>Table 1: Members' Generalizations and Individual Experiences (Conversation at the Summer Lunch, the D-R Society in Aalborg, June 30, 2007). .....</b>	<b>108</b>
<b>Table 2: Transcription Convention Used for Presentation of Co-present Interaction.</b>	<b>174</b>